DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 421 444 SO 029 241

AUTHOR	Schelander, Bjorn
TITLE	Exploring Indonesia: Past and Present.
INSTITUTION	Hawaii Univ., Manoa. School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	1996-00-00
NOTE	245p.; Illustrations by Ann Hsu.
AVAILABLE FROM	Center for Southeast Asian Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies, 1890 East-West Road, Moore 416, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom (055)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Area Studies; *Asian History; *Asian Studies; Foreign Countries; Global Education; Instructional Materials; Multicultural Education; *Non Western Civilization; Secondary Education; Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS	*Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This book provides an overview of Indonesia's history and culture. The book begins with prehistoric times and continues through nationhood. Each chapter provides background information along with student activities and project suggestions. Chapters include: (1) "Introduction to the Lands and Peoples of Indonesia"; (2) "Early Indonesian Societies"; (3) "The Development of the Spice Trade and the Coming of Islam"; (4) "The Age of Mataram and the Voc"; (5) "Dutch Colonization and the Growth of Nationalism: 1800-1940"; and (6) "The Road to Independence." The volume concludes with an answer key to chapter exercises and a 50-item bibliography. (EH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 421 444

Exploring Indonesia

Past and Present

Bjorn Schelander

SO 029 241

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Florence Lamoureux

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Center for Southeast Asian Studies
School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies
University of Hawai'i
1996

Exploring Indonesia:

Past and Present

by
Bjorn Schelander

with illustrations by
Ann Hsu

Partially funded by the
U.S. Department of Education

Published by the
Center for Southeast Asian Studies
School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies
University of Hawai'i
1996

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are due to all the faculty and staff at the University of Hawaii at Manoa who have helped with this project. In particular I would like to acknowledge the support and guidance of Dr. Leonard Andaya and Dr. James Collins, both of whom have encouraged my study of Indonesian language, culture and history. A special note of gratitude is also reserved for Florence Lamoureux, coordinator of the University of Hawaii's Center for Southeast Asian Studies textbook project, for her patience, sound editorial advice and ever-present good humor. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Ann for all of her support and assistance during the writing of this book.

Bjorn Schelander

Honolulu, Hawaii
March 1996

Batik design on front cover: Lung Kurda

Table of Contents

PREFACE i

CHAPTER 1 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE LANDS AND PEOPLES OF INDONESIA 1
THE GEOGRAPHY OF INDONESIA 1
The Southeast Asian Setting. 2
The Major Island Groups of Indonesia 3
The "Ring of Fire" 5
Climate 6
Fauna and Flora 8
Resources and Land Use 11
THE PEOPLE AND CULTURES OF INDONESIA 14
Major Ethnic Groups of Indonesia 20
Languages and Dialects 26
Patterns of Religious Beliefs 28
Music, Arts, and Crafts 32
Food and Drink 39
The Cycle of Life 41
Summary: 43
EXERCISES 44

CHAPTER 2 49

EARLY INDONESIAN SOCIETIES 49
THE SOURCES OF EARLY INDONESIAN HISTORY 50
Linguistic Evidence 51
Early Inscriptions and Chronicles 52
Ethnographic Evidence: Studying Present-day Societies 53
Legends and Folk Tales 55
Accounts from Foreign Traders and Rulers 57
Weighing the Evidence 59
EARLY FOREIGN CONTACTS 61
China 61
India 62
Madagascar, Malaysia, and the Philippines 64
EARLY INDONESIAN EMPIRES 65
Srivijaya 65
Shailendra 70
Mataram 71
Majapahit 74
EXERCISES 76

CHAPTER 3 83

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPICE TRADE AND THE COMING OF ISLAM 83
THE RISE OF MELAKA 83
THE WORLD OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN TRADE 84
The Spread of Malay 87
The Spread of Islam 88
THE WORLD OF INDONESIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 92
EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ASIAN TRADE ROUTES 97
Economic Motives: 97
Scientific Advances: 99
Religious Motives: 100
Portuguese Presence in Southeast Asia. 101
Other Early European Presence in Indonesia: 106
SUMMARY 109
EXERCISES 111

CHAPTER 4 115

THE AGE OF MATARAM AND THE VOC 115
THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN SOCIETIES 1600-1800 115
JAVA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE AGE OF MATARAM 116
SUNDA AND SOUTHERN SUMATRA 118
ACEH 121
MAKASSAR 123
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC) 125
THE VOC IN MALUKU 128
JAVA AND THE VOC 130
From Sunda Kelapa to Batavia 131
Amangkurat I 132
Amangkurat II 133
The Javanese Wars of Succession 134
VOC GAINS AND LOSSES 137
SUMMARY 138
EXERCISES 140

CHAPTER 5 145

DUTCH COLONIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM: 1800-1940 145
BEGINNINGS OF THE DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT 145
THE BRITISH SEIZE CONTROL 147
THE DUTCH REGAIN THEIR COLONIES AND EXTEND CONTROL 150
Diponegoro and The Java War 151
The Cultivation System 154
The Liberal Period (1870-1900) 156

CHAPTER 5 (continued)

The Outer Islands 157
THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT 162
THE ETHICAL POLICY (1900-1930) 163
NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS 165
SUMMARY 170
EXERCISES 171

CHAPTER SIX 177

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE 177
WORLD WAR II 177
JAPANESE OCCUPATION 178
THE END OF WWII 181
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM 184
DUTCH ATTEMPTS TO REGAIN THE COLONY 186
NEGOTIATIONS 187
THE SUKARNO YEARS 189
ESTABLISHING A UNITED INDONESIA 190
Social Development 190
Economic Development 192
Political Development 193
THREATS TO UNITY 194
GUIDED DEMOCRACY 198
LIVING DANGEROUSLY 200
From West New Guinea to Irian Jaya 201
Confrontation with Malaysia 201
THE 30TH SEPTEMBER MOVEMENT 203
SUHARTO AND THE NEW ORDER 206
DEVELOPMENT AND THE ECONOMY 206
POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE NEW ORDER 210
Structure of the Government 211
Domestic Issues 211
Foreign Policy Issues 213
SUMMARY 214
EXERCISES 216

KEY TO EXERCISES 222

BIBLIOGRAPHY 235

LIST OF MAPS

1.1 Southeast Asia	2
1.2 Geographical Features of Indonesia	4
1.3 Indonesia (Major Islands)	14
2.1 Early Trade Routes	66
2.2 Srivijaya	67
2.3 Early Historical Sites in Java	74
3.1 Major Sea Routes of the Spice Trade	85
3.2 Pasisir (North Coast) Java	93
3.3 Portuguese Trade Stations	102
4.1 Java During the Age of Mataram	118
4.2 Sumatra	119
4.3 Sulawesi and the Spice Islands	124
4.4 Growth of Dutch Control in Java	137
5.1 Indonesia	150
6.1 Provinces of Indonesia	213

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Kenong (Gong)	
Rebab (Stringed Instrument)	36
Kris (Wavy Bladed Dagger)	39
Kendang (Drum)	55
Borobudur	70
Nutmeg	86
Clove	96
Pepper	98
Mask and Naga (Serpent) Ornamentation at Palace of Yogyakarta	130
Music Pavillion at Palace of Yogyakarta	153
Women Planting Rice	156
Minangkabau House	191
Bemo (Minibus)	199

Preface

The land of Indonesia is home to a rich diversity of people and cultures and has a long and fascinating history. It would be impossible in this book to present more than a brief sketch of some of the most important of Indonesia's people, places and events. The reader is encouraged to consult additional works, such as those listed in the bibliography, for a more in depth coverage of specific topics.

A Note on Indonesian Spelling and Names:

The Indonesian language is easy to pronounce. In general one should try to pronounce Indonesian words as they are written, bearing in mind the following few rules: the letter "c" always represents the sound "ch" (as in chair, never like the "c" in cider or car), the letters "ng" are pronounced like the "ng" in singer, while "ngg" is pronounced like the "ng" in finger. However, there have been several changes in spelling conventions, which explains why one may find alternate spellings of the same name (eg. Suharto and Soeharto). For more information on spelling and language, consult a good Indonesian-English dictionary, such as that by Echols and Shadily.

A Note to Teachers:

This book has been designed so that it may be utilised in several ways. Used in its entirety it can serve as the main text for a course on Indonesian history or social studies. It can also be used as a supplementary source of material to be integrated into other history or social studies courses. Selected chapters may be used in order to add a Southeast Asian perspective or to highlight particular historical themes.

Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the country, including the geography, natural resources, and cultural diversity to be found in Indonesia. Chapter 6 discusses the politics and economy of modern Indonesia. Taken together, these two chapters may be used to provide a general country profile of Indonesia.

Chapters 2 through 5 concentrate on the historical development of Indonesian society. Individual chapters may be selected to provide examples of general themes that are covered in a world history course. For example, chapter 2 focuses on describing early societies, the role of inter-regional trade, and the challenges of historiography. This chapter deals with the question of "what is history?" and with the need to evaluate critically the sources of information used to build a reconstruction of past events.

Chapter 3 continues with the themes of international trade. It also introduces the role of Islam, both as an influence within Indonesia and as a dynamic religious force throughout the Asian region. The opposition of Islam and Christianity (in historical terms) is highlighted by the collision of the Western and indigenous Southeast Asian cultures, and the European "Age of Exploration" is covered from an Asian perspective.

Chapter 4 may be used to highlight the confrontation of Western and Asian interests, especially in the realm of commerce, and the development of a colonial system. Chapter 5 continues with the theme of colonization, and focuses on its political aspects. Resistance movements are also discussed, as is the growth of a unified opposition and the development of a national consciousness. Additionally, this chapter stresses the role of primary sources in studying history.

Each chapter has a set of exercises which may be used to test the students' comprehension of the information presented in that unit. There are always several exercises that test recall of factual material (i.e. multiple choice, true/false, or fill in the blanks) and several exercises that provide an opportunity for critical thinking and essay writing. In order to spark the students' imagination and to help bring history alive, there are topics for creative writing. Additionally there are several sections devoted to map skills and geography.

A Note to Students:

This book is designed to give you an overall picture of Indonesian history and society. As with any textbook, it may seem like there is a lot of new information for you to absorb. As you read the material try to concentrate on the main themes. Try to compare what you learn about Indonesian history with what you already know about Asian history and/or about the history of your own country. Use the chapter summaries to review information and test your knowledge by completing the exercises at the end of every chapter.

Most of all, try to enjoy the challenge of learning more about this beautiful and interesting country. Take advantage of the resources in the library of your school or local community. In addition to reference works and history books, you may also check the index listings for magazines and journals, such as *National Geographic*, for articles on Indonesia. There are also a number of video documentaries which deal with various aspects of Indonesian culture, natural history and modern affairs.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE LANDS AND PEOPLES OF INDONESIA

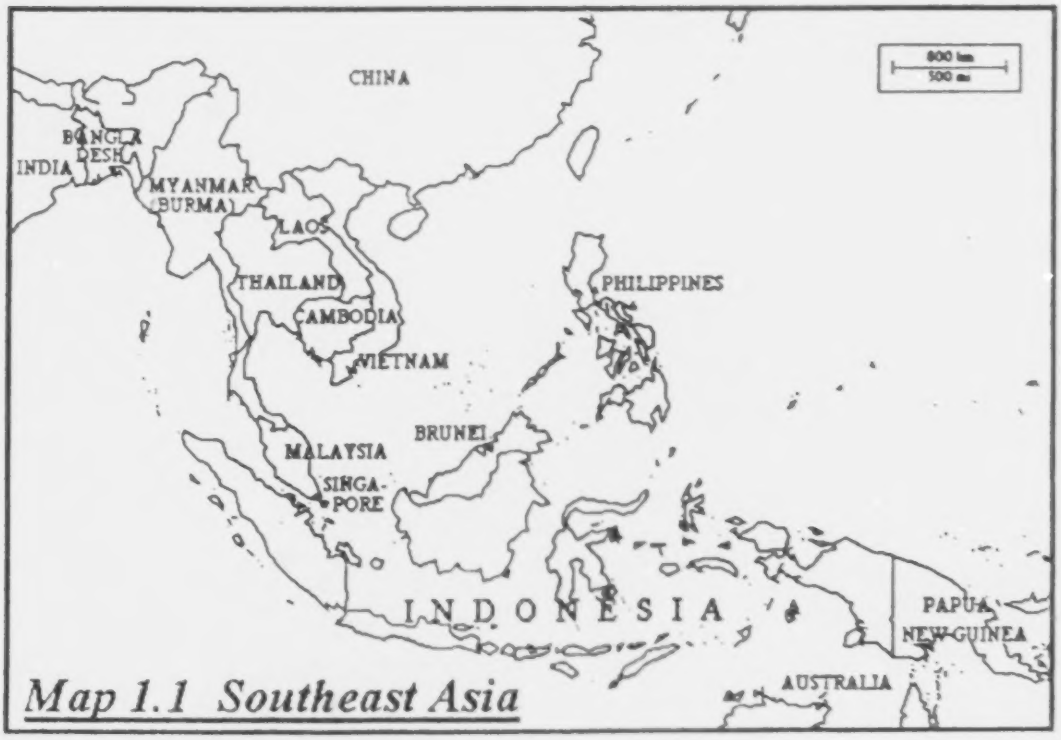
THE GEOGRAPHY OF INDONESIA

Indonesia has been described by some as a string of emeralds cast upon the Indian ocean. Others call it part of a ring of fire. These poetic names sound very different from each other but both suggest something about the physical characteristics of this island chain. On the one hand, the country is made up of over 13,500 luxuriant tropical islands, stretching over more than 5,000 kilometers of ocean. Many of these same islands, however, are volcanic. Some of these volcanoes are dormant but many are still active. Learning the connection between the immense destructive power of these volcanoes and the highly fertile lands around them is just one of the benefits of having some geographical background about the area.

In order to study this diverse land it is necessary to understand something about the forces that created this archipelago (chain of islands), and that continue to shape it. In this section you will learn about Indonesia's geographical history, its climate and environment and its resources. You will also discover where to find carnivorous plants and flightless birds, the world's largest flower and a kind of grass that grows over 100 feet tall. You will learn where there are snow-capped mountains in the tropics, the location of two of the world's three largest islands, and where to find one of the most densely populated areas on earth. In short, you will discover some of the incredible richness and diversity of Indonesia.

The Southeast Asian Setting.

Indonesia occupies a strategic area within Southeast Asia. It not only possesses the largest land area and largest population of any of the Southeast Asian nations, it is also well situated to take advantage of international trade. A careful study of Map 1.1 will show how well Indonesia is positioned to participate in trade with its close neighbors (such as Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Australia) as well as trade with and between larger Asian countries such as China and India. Indeed, throughout many centuries of its history, Indonesia has played an important role in international trade, and has sold its products and served as a midway station to traders from China, India, the Arabic peninsula, and Europe. Later in the chapter there will be more discussion about why Indonesia was so well suited to serve as a meeting place for traders from India and China.



Map 1.1 Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is an area which is gaining increased world attention. It is often subdivided into two regions by grouping together those countries which are located on the Asian continent itself and those which are situated in the surrounding ocean. Thus "mainland Southeast Asia" refers to Kampuchea (Cambodia), Laos, Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, and Vietnam, while "island Southeast Asia" includes Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, and the Philippines. Note that Malaysia could belong to either category, since part of its territory is on mainland Southeast Asia and part is on the island of Borneo. Because of the close historical, linguistic, and cultural connection of the Malay people of Malaysia with the inhabitants of parts of Indonesia and Brunei, however, it is often included as part of island Southeast Asia.

The Major Island Groups of Indonesia

A quick glance at the map will make it obvious which countries are bound to the mainland and which are currently surrounded by water. But the sea level has changed over the ages, and parts of what are now the islands of Indonesia used to be part of the Asian mainland long ago. During the Ice Age of ten to fourteen thousand years ago, the sea level dropped as immense glaciers formed in the polar regions. Parts of the Asian continent now submerged by water were at that time exposed as dry land. This eastward projecting portion of the Asian continental shelf is called the Sunda Shelf. It formed a land bridge east towards Australia. This allowed human populations to migrate from areas of what are now China and Indochina to the portion of western Indonesia that was connected to the mainland. It also allowed animal and plant life to expand their ranges in the same direction. Today the waters which cover the Sunda Shelf are quite shallow, and the mountains which rise from the bottom of the shelf emerge from the sea to form some of the largest and most important of the Indonesian islands, including Sumatra, Java, Madura, and Borneo. These islands belong to Western Indonesia, and along with the island of Sulawesi, are often referred to as the Greater Sunda Islands.

There are three other major groups of islands in Indonesia: the Lesser Sundas, Maluku, and Irian Jaya. Lying directly east from the Greater Sundas mentioned above is

an area of very deep water, including the Banda Sea. This area is home to the Lesser Sundas, comprising Bali, Lombok, Sumba, Sumbawa, and Timor, as well as all the smaller islands near them. This area is also called *Nusa Tenggara*, from the Indonesian words for "Southeast Islands."

Map 1.2 Geographical Features of Indonesia

To the north of the Lesser Sundas and to the east of Sulawesi lies Maluku. While relatively small in size, these islands played an extremely important role in the history of the archipelago, for these were the fabled Spice Islands, the source of the spices that were so highly prized in Europe, China and other far away markets. Important islands in this group include Ternate, Tidore, Buru, Bacan, Ambon, Ceram, and Halmahera.

At the far eastern end of the archipelago lies the Sahul Shelf, which is part of the Australian continental shelf. The island of New Guinea, the second largest island in the world, is part of the Sahul Shelf. The Indonesian province of Irian Jaya lies on the western part of New Guinea while the country of Papua New Guinea is situated on the eastern half of the island. The island contains a great deal of diversity in its geography, ranging from

tropical rain forest in the lowlands to alpine scrub on the highest mountains, several of which rise above 15,000 feet and are permanently covered in snow. The Arafura Sea is the submerged portion of the shelf connecting Australia and New Guinea, and its waters, like those of the Sunda Shelf, are quite shallow.

The "Ring of Fire"

Volcanoes are a familiar feature which can be found throughout the four main island groups of Indonesia. There are perhaps 75 - 125 active volcanoes in Indonesia, and over 300 more which appear inactive. Note that it is sometimes difficult to classify a volcano, as one will sometimes erupt after many decades of inactivity. These volcanoes can erupt with terrifying and deadly consequences. Gunung Agung in the eastern part of Bali erupted in 1963, killing some 1,700 people and destroying the homes and villages of many tens of thousands of others. Krakatoa, a volcanic island lying between Sumatra and Java, had remained dormant for several hundred years before erupting in 1883 with an explosion so large that an estimated six cubic miles of earth were thrown into the sky. The explosion completely destroyed the island and created tidal waves that killed over thirty thousand people living on nearby shores in Java. The explosion was loud enough to be heard as far away as Australia, Turkey, and Japan, and ejected so much earth, dust, and ash into the atmosphere that unusually colorful sunsets were experienced all over the world. Less than fifty years later, a new volcanic cone emerged from the sea near the site of the old explosion. Scientists studied it carefully, for the new island provided a natural "laboratory" to study how plant and animal life can cross the sea and become established on an island that has just been formed. The island is named Anak Krakatoa (Child of Krakatoa) and is still volcanically active today.

Volcanoes are just one of the immensely powerful geological forces present across the islands. West of Sumatra extending to the area south of Java is the site where the Indian and Eurasian continental plates plunge over each other, buckling the earth into ridges that have formed the mountainous spines running down the lengths of Sumatra and Java. According to the theory of continental plate drift ("plate tectonics"), there are

several blocks or "plates" of land that very slowly shift their positions on the face of the earth. When two plates meet each other, tremendous pressure can result, creating a "fault line" such as the one which runs down much of California. Earthquakes are one result of this friction between the plates. Indonesia regularly experiences many earthquakes, and in the mid 1990's several major quakes occurred, including those in southern Sumatra, the southeast coast of Java, and in Maluku.

Climate

Almost all of Indonesia lies within 10^{o} S and 5^{o} N of the equator. As such, it possesses a tropical climate with high temperatures and high average rainfall (though the eastern islands are often drier that those of the west). This warm climate and abundant rain combines with rich volcanic soil to produce a very fertile land. Large stretches of tropical rain forest can still be found and are home to an amazing array of different plant and animal species, though in many areas the forest has been pushed back, and the amount of land covered by primary forest grows steadily smaller.

Rainfall in Indonesia varies from region to region. Jakarta, the capitol, receives 72 inches per year, but parts of Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya can average over 80 inches, with some areas reaching as high as 150 inches or more per year. Most of Java and Madura have an average of 60 to 80 inches per year, while much of the Lesser Sunda islands receive only 40 to 60 inches.

The amount of rain also varies with the seasons. In general there are two major seasons in Indonesia. The dry season usually occurs while the northern hemisphere is experiencing summer, and is characterized by drier, hotter weather, though rainfall is by no means absent in many areas even at these times. The wet season brings slightly cooler temperatures and higher rainfall to the islands around the months of November to February.

Part of the seasonal variation in temperature and rainfall is caused by the monsoon winds that sweep across the islands in different directions at various times of the year. When the southern hemisphere is tilted toward the sun, the land mass of Australia gathers

heat and the hot air over it rises, creating a low pressure area. As the air in this low pressure system rises, other air rushes in, causing winds which move eastward across Indonesia towards Australia. As these winds meet with other winds caused by high pressure systems over the Indian Ocean, they rise and cool, causing the moisture trapped in the air to condense and fall as rain. As long as these conditions persist, Indonesia experiences its rainy season.

Once the earth tilts in the opposite direction, the conditions are reversed. Australia experiences its winter and develops a corresponding high pressure system while the Asian mainland heats up and develops a low pressure system. This causes the air to rise over mainland Asia, and as it rises winds are generated from the higher pressure areas over Australia and the Indian Ocean towards continental Asia. These winds blow north and westward across Indonesia and release less moisture than the winds of the rainy season. During these months of the year Indonesia has correspondingly warmer and drier weather.

These monsoon winds not only produce the variation of rainy season and dry season across the archipelago; they also generate consistent winds that allow ships to sail back and forth across the Indian Ocean and China Sea. Sea-going merchants have long used these seasonal monsoon winds to sail to destinations in Arabia, India, Southeast Asia, and China. As it was not possible to travel the complete distance from China to India (or vice versa) in one season, most traders would travel to an intermediate trading post, and exchange their wares with others who had arrived from the opposite direction. The area around the Straits of Melaka was ideally suited to serve as such a half-way point for traders from China and India to meet.

The traders who traveled throughout Southeast Asia often came to buy and sell various plant and animal products. Spices were one of the most prized items, but camphor, resins, sandalwood, and shells were also widely traded. Indonesia still benefits from its rich natural resources. Some of the most important plant and animal species of the Indonesian islands are noted in the following section.

Fauna and Flora

Animal Life:

The plant and animal life of Indonesia is extremely rich and diverse. At the western end of the archipelago one can find tigers, elephants, and other animals typical of mainland Asia. The eastern region of the islands contain marsupials and monotremes (egg-laying mammals) similar to those found in Australia. Alfred R. Wallace, a British naturalist who traveled widely in Indonesia during the middle of the nineteenth century, was interested in the distribution of animals throughout the archipelago. He observed that the mammals and birds typical of Australia tended to reach as far west as Lombok, while animals from the Asian mainland seemed to extend their range no further east than Bali and Sulawesi. The dividing line separating these two areas is called the Wallace Line, though it is now recognized that it may be more accurate to think of a transitional zone rather than a sharp line dividing the two areas. The land bridges exposed during the Ice Age were responsible for allowing the animal species to move into their present locations. It is therefore not surprising that the habitats of Asian animal species expanded over the areas belonging to the Sunda Shelf, while the Australian species spread over the Sahul Shelf. The area between the two shelves constitutes the transition zone.

Unfortunately, many of the most magnificent of Indonesia's large animals have become very rare, and some are on the endangered species list. In Sumatra it is still possible to find the elephant, tiger, orangutan, and rhinoceros. The elephants in Indonesia are of the Asian variety, and have smaller ears and tusks than the African elephant. The Sumatran tiger is very rare now, and it is thought that the Javanese tiger is probably extinct. Similarly, there are only a few hundred of the two-horned Sumatran rhinos left, while the Javan rhino (with one horn) has even fewer survivors. Poaching is the single biggest threat to the rhino, for its horn is thought to have special magical/medicinal powers and therefore can be sold for an extremely high price, particularly in Chinese communities both inside and outside of Indonesia. The orangutan is also an endangered animal, and exists only in Sumatra and Borneo. Slight variations exist between the orangutan varieties found on these two islands. Orangutans are one of the four great apes,

the group of primates most closely related to human beings. Their name comes from the Malay words *orang* ("man") and *utan* ("forest").

Other large mammals found in Indonesia include the tapir, the sun bear (the smallest of the world's bears), the leopard, and several varieties of "flying foxes", or fruit bats, including the world's largest bat (with a wing span of over five feet). While there are several types of deer found across the islands, the mouse deer, or *kancil*, is probably the one closest to the hearts of the Indonesian people. Actually a type of chevrotain rather than a true deer, the mouse deer is only about twelve inches tall at the shoulder. Despite its small size, it has often been portrayed as a hero in Indonesian folktales, relying on quick wits to outsmart its enemies.

Among the lizards and reptiles of the archipelago there are several that merit special mention. The famous Komodo dragon, a large variety of monitor lizard found only on a few small and remote islands, is the longest lizard in the world, and can reach ten feet from tip to tail. The world's longest snake, the reticulated python, is also found in Indonesia and can reach almost thirty feet in length. Among the many other species of snakes, some of the most unusual are the so-called flying snakes, which can flatten their body so as to glide somewhat while jumping from branch to branch.

Plant Life:

In addition to its remarkable animal species, Indonesia is home to many interesting varieties of plants. The largest flower in the world, reaching up to three feet across, is the Rafflesia. It is found in Sumatra and Borneo, though its remote distribution and long wait between blooms means that its flower is rather rarely seen. Other more commonly found plants include many different varieties of palm, ferns, and bamboo .

There are over 150 species of palm in Indonesia, of which the coconut palm is one of the most important. The dried meat of the coconut, copra, is an important export crop, and the coconut milk made by soaking and pressing the grated meat is an important ingredient in many local recipes. The nut of the areca palm (also called the betel nut) is combined with lime (the calcium-containing substance found in limestone and oyster shells, not the citrus fruit) and rolled in a betel leaf. When chewed, this combination of

ingredients acts as a mild stimulant. The sago palm yields an important food source for many Indonesians, particularly in the eastern portion of the country. The lontar palm has leaves which were once used as paper; books were assembled by loosely binding the leaves between two thin, flat pieces of wood. Other types of palm produce rattan, an important export product often used in making furniture.

Sago:

Sago is a starchy substance which is extracted from the pith of the sago palm. This pith is grated and washed with water. After the water is drained a thick starchy paste is left behind. This paste can be eaten or used as an ingredient to bake various types of bread or biscuits. Sago is sometimes exported to other countries where it is often used as an ingredient in puddings and other foodstuffs, but the main importance of sago in Indonesia is as a staple food in those areas not suited to rice cultivation.

Bamboo is another versatile plant that has many uses for the Indonesians. There are over 250 types of bamboo, some of which grow 100 feet in height. Despite its ability to grow taller than many trees, bamboo is actually a member of the grass family. Woven bamboo strips are used to make everything from mats and baskets to the walls of houses. Bamboo is also used to make irrigation pipes, cooking utensils, food and water containers, flutes, fishing rods, and a host of other household items. Even in large, modern Indonesian cities today one can see bamboo being used as scaffolding at construction sites.

There are approximately 35,000 other plants in Indonesia aside from those listed above. Obviously it is impossible to name them all. However, later sections will mention some of the most important native species, including both the spices for which Indonesia became famous and the rice plant which has become the staple food source for millions of Indonesian. Also important are some non-native species which have been introduced as cash crops or additional food

sources, such as rubber, coffee, cinchona (the source of quinine, an anti-malarial medicine), maize (corn), cassava (the source of tapioca), tobacco, and chili peppers. Many of these plants were important to the development of estate or plantation agriculture.

Betel Nut:

The practice of chewing *sireh*, or betel, as it sometimes referred to in English, has long been widespread throughout the Southeast Asian region. Many people today still carry on the habit, even though it turns the saliva a bright red color, and over time can turn the teeth black! While it is often viewed as a rather unrefined habit, somewhat similar to the way Westerners view chewing tobacco, the practice of chewing *sireh* is a very old custom, and one which used to be practiced by people at the ancient courts. Some of the beautiful and ornate containers for keeping the ingredients and tools involved in making the *sireh* are now museum pieces.

Resources and Land Use

Minerals:

Petroleum products are a major export of Indonesia. In 1989 Indonesia exported about 70% of all the oil it produced, amounting to 500 million barrels with a value of six billion dollars. It is a member of OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), and in 1991 produced approximately six percent of that organization's total output. Profits from the export of oil has been a mainstay of the Indonesian economy since the 1960's. (Profits from oil increased 4,000% from 1968 to 1985.) In addition to oil, Indonesia produces large amounts of liquefied natural gas (LNG), and has become the

world's largest exporter of this product. In 1990 some 20.6 million tons of LNG were exported, at a value of 3.7 billion dollars. Sumatra is a prime producer of both oil and LNG.

Other major mineral resources include coal, copper, nickel, gold, and bauxite (the ore from which aluminum is made). The islands of Belitung and Bangka off the eastern coast of Sumatra have long been known as a source of tin. These other minerals are a valuable asset to the economy, though oil is currently still the major export earner. Yet relying on mineral exports alone is acknowledged as placing Indonesia in a potentially vulnerable situation, and in anticipation of a future decline in oil revenues, Indonesia has recently shown interest in diversifying its economy even more beyond the mineral and gas industries. Timber, tourism, and manufacturing have all grown in importance in recent years.

Agriculture:

Agriculture is an important element in the economy of the nation as well as the lives of most of its people. Though roughly only 20% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) comes from agriculture, in 1989 over half the work force was involved in this sector. For centuries Indonesians have relied on the fertile soil, enriched by occasional layers of volcanic ash, to provide them with their basic foods. They have developed two major types of agriculture: *sawah* (irrigated field) and *ladang* (dry field). A third type, estate cultivation, was introduced during colonial times.

The *sawah* system makes use of irrigated fields, each of which is surrounded by small dikes to keep the water level high enough to submerge the entire field. Water is channeled through bamboo pipes or ditches from field to field, and can be controlled to flood or drain the field as desired. This system generally involves cutting terraced fields onto the sides of a hill or mountain so that the water can be caught in any particular field and then drained into the next lower field. Over the centuries entire mountain slopes have been carefully carved into terraced fields, providing one of the most beautiful and impressive sights in the islands.

Rice is the main crop that is grown in the *sawah* fields. Rice is the staple food of millions of Indonesians, and despite the huge demand for this food, Indonesia has become self-sufficient in rice production in recent years. The rice seedlings are first cultivated in a nursery and then transplanted to a flooded field. Using this method two or sometimes three crops of rice can be produced in a year. Rice can also be grown in dry fields, but the *sawah* system produces a higher yield per acre.

The *ladang* method involves growing crops in dry rather than flooded fields. In areas where this type of agriculture is practiced on fields that have been cleared from forest land, it is called swidden, or "slash and burn" agriculture. Under this system a plot of forest land is cleared and the undergrowth burnt off. This temporarily enriches the soil by adding the nutrients from the ashes of the burnt vegetation. But after several crops have been grown on the plot, many of the nutrients are consumed. Additionally, heavy tropical rain often washes away some of the topsoil of the exposed land, further diminishing its fertility. Thus after several seasons it becomes time to abandon the plot and clear a new one. If the old plot has not suffered too much erosion, and if it is given enough time to regenerate, the forest will eventually reclaim that area. However, if it is repeatedly reused without enough time between cycles of planting, it can become depleted and prone to total erosion, or it may be overrun with a fast growing type of imperata grass (*lalang*) which prevents other plants from being able to establish themselves. Slash and burn has been the source of some controversy as a method of agriculture; though it has been widely used for centuries, it has the potential to create environmental damage, especially if used in a confined area.

Estate cultivation of crops refers to the system of growing a single crop over a very large area. Rubber, coffee, tea, and sugarcane have all been grown on such estates, as has oil palms, coconuts, and tobacco. This system began under colonial rule as a way to produce cash crops for export. During this time many plantation estates were opened up in Sumatra, where land was plentiful and the population density was relatively low. To make up for the shortage of labor, many Javanese were brought over to work on the estates.

Map 1.3 Indonesia

THE PEOPLE AND CULTURES OF INDONESIA

Indonesia is a land of immense variety. Just as its physical geography includes the extremes of snow-capped mountains and hot tropical rain forests, so too does it cultural geography include a wide range of contrast. There are many dozens of different ethnic groups that reside in the archipelago, and many still retain their own language and set of traditions. Many books describing Indonesia often concentrate on illustrating the life of the Javanese, partly because the Javanese are the single largest ethnic group in Indonesia and partly because there is more information available about them than there is about most other groups. However it is important to realize that the Javanese themselves are outnumbered by non-Javanese, and that there is a wide variety of cultural beliefs and practices in Indonesia today.

In the face of this diversity it might appear as though there would be no way to describe accurately the "typical" Indonesian. Indeed one should always remember that the customs and beliefs of one group may not be representative of all of Indonesia. Nevertheless there are several cultural components that are common throughout much of the archipelago. While all ethnic groups have their own distinctive patterns of belief, the following cultural traits may be regarded as widely recognizable characteristics that apply to many of the people of Indonesia.

Adat:

"*Adat*" refers to the traditional law and customs of an area. While these customs differ from place to place, it is commonly accepted that there is an appropriate set of *adat* that guides the actions of members of a particular group. The Indonesians even have a saying "*lain desa, lain adat*" ("different village, different customs") which acknowledges the variety of beliefs that exist. *Adat* typically stresses the community over the individual, and provides a set of rules and guidelines by which people can live together in relative harmony. Under Dutch rule *adat* was recognized as the local law and given the authority to deal with village issues.

Adat guides the rituals that accompany important events in life, such as marriage, birth, and death. Often these rituals are maintained alongside those which accompany the group's religion. For example, an Indonesian wedding may have both an Islamic, Christian, or other religious service and a traditional *adat* celebration. *Adat* may also influence inheritance customs, village organization, and what is considered socially acceptable behavior.

Spiritual traditions:

Underlying many of the traditional *adat* beliefs is a reverence for life and spirituality that was originally expressed through animism, the belief that a life force may reside in all things. Animism acknowledges that people, animals, trees, and non-living things such as rocks, streams, and volcanoes may contain powerful spiritual forces. Just as the world around us is composed of pairs of opposites, such as the sun and moon, light and dark, left and right, north and south, so too can the spiritual forces around us appear as either good or bad. Good spirits may be guardians of a village or represent the souls of the ancestors, and deserve respect and offerings. Bad spirits may cause sickness or ill fortune, and therefore need to be diverted from causing trouble either by receiving their own tribute or by being banished through the exorcism performed by a *dukun* (a traditional healer and spirit medium).

Elements of these ideas are still found in Indonesia today. While there are certainly many Indonesians whose modern scientific or strong religious beliefs leave no room for the existence of spirits, there are many who retain a belief in supernatural forces. Sidewalk vendors sell rings and amulets that are thought to provide protection against evil spirits or to bring good luck. Rituals are followed to ensure a successful harvest and the services of the *dukun* are relied on to restore the health of an invalid or to rid a house of bad spirits. Owners of the traditional wavy-bladed dagger, the *kris*, often believe that their blades have a mystical force that can even allow the kris to move by itself. Certain gongs of the gamelan orchestra are thought to have special powers and are treated with reverence; no one steps over the instrument, as this would be disrespectful.

Sometimes the traditional beliefs in spirits are blended with other religious traditions, such as the Islamic belief in the existence of *jin* (spirits), or the Hindu belief in a myriad of gods and goddesses who control different aspects of the natural world such as the sun, the wind, and the sea. Indonesia has a long history of accommodating different sets of beliefs and adapting them to become their own.

The belief in spiritual forces is also reflected in the traditional emphasis on meditation, self-restraint, and ascetic practices (i.e. methods of self denial that help one to gain control over one's body and mind) as ways to gather spiritual energy. People still make pilgrimages to certain caves, trees, grave sites, or other places which are thought to be particularly suitable places to meditate and regain energy. Respected spiritual *gurus* (teachers) pass down the traditions to the next generation of followers.

Communal Society:

Anthropologists and sociologists often look at whether a particular society gives more emphasis to the community or to the individual. A communal society is one in which the good of the whole community is given precedence over that of the individual. Members of a communal society are expected to work for the common good of the whole group, rather than for purely selfish goals. Indonesian traditions often emphasize cooperation and community spirit. For example, a common goal in deciding community issues is to achieve "*mufakat*" (consensus, unanimous agreement). A good solution is one

which everyone agrees is acceptable. This is viewed as more desirable than a solution which is determined by majority vote, which could be unacceptable to up to 49% of the people involved. Achieving this consensus requires "*musyawarah*" (discussion of an issue until all details are resolved). Harmony and compromise are guiding principles to help the process of *musyawarah*, and everyone must be allowed to have a say in the final decision.

Community projects such as harvesting crops, building schools, and cleaning village roads and drains, rely on the spirit of mutual help and cooperation that is known as "*gotong-royong*." All people are expected to pitch in with the work and help each other in these communal endeavors. On an individual basis, people are also expected to help each other based on the idea of "*tolong-menolong*" (reciprocal help). Thus one neighbor may help another at one time and then receive assistance from that same neighbor at a later date.

Family obligations are important in a communal society. The selection of a marriage partner generally requires the approval of the parents and may even be solely their decision. The marriage of a younger brother or sister in a family may have to wait until the older brothers and sisters have already married. Respect is given to elder members of the family and the community, and one is expected to look after one's parents in their old age. Relatives may pool resources to help provide for the education of one of the family. In short, many decisions are based on the welfare of the family rather than the desires of the individual.

Polite Behavior and Hospitality:

Indonesians are well known for their tradition of hospitality. Many visitors to Indonesia receive numerous invitations to visit the homes of the acquaintances that they meet. Indonesians themselves often drop by to visit their friends - pre-arranged agreements to meet are not required! People drop whatever they are doing when a visitor comes to their house and strive to make the guest comfortable .

Upon entering another's house one is immediately offered something to drink, and often provided with something to snack on as well. But the traditions of polite behavior require the guest not to eat or drink until the host formally offers these items after they

have been set down on the table. It may be a few moments before this invitation to begin is given to the guest: nevertheless it is extremely rude to "dig in" before the host has indicated the proper time.

Regard for the rules of etiquette and good behavior is considered very important. One should try to be "*halus*" (refined, elegant, possessing good taste and proper behavior) at all times. Naturally this means avoiding "*kasar*" (coarse, impolite, unrefined) behavior. The *halus* person will be able to control his or her feelings, and will be able to appear calm and collected. Outward displays of extreme emotion, especially anger, are considered inappropriate. Regard is always given to the feelings of others.

Rural vs. Urban Life:

More of Indonesia's population lives in rural areas than in urban centers. While conditions in these rural communities vary greatly from one area to another, it is generally accurate to say that traditional ways of life tend to be stronger in the countryside than in the larger towns and cities. In the rural "*desa*" (village), life tends to be slower, people tend to know everyone else in the community, and traditional beliefs continue to be practiced. The seasonal rhythms of agriculture are reflected in planting rituals and harvest celebrations. Children help their parents out in the fields and in the house.

In the cities life has a quicker pace and a more cosmopolitan atmosphere. In the major cities like Jakarta, Surabaya, or Bandung one can find glittering and luxurious shopping malls, modern movie theaters, trendy discos, and four-star international hotels. Not everyone can take part in this glamorous lifestyle, but it is there for those who can afford it.

Many urban dwellers can, however, participate in other aspects of the modern Indonesian town or city. Most large towns have a major central square called the "*alun-alun,*" which often has a mosque on its western side. The main "*pasar*" (market) is often nearby, and typically offers a wide variety of goods for sale. Separate areas are designated for meats, fish, fruits and vegetables, and other foods. Still other areas house cloth and batik, clothing, household goods, basketry, hardware, and other items. Many of the fruit and vegetable dealers will have outdoor stalls, while other merchants will rent stall space

in large roofed-over enclosures that resemble crowded warehouses bursting with things for sale.

Cities also provide other facilities. There are both private and state-run schools and universities. Businesses have their headquarters in town, and often have large factories nearby. Life in the city offers more choices than life in the country. But city living is not always easy: unemployment and low wages force many people to live in makeshift accommodations with poor sanitation and extremely basic living conditions. As in many other countries, the gap between rich and poor is particularly dramatic in the cities. Life in the city presents new challenges for people regardless of their ethnic background. Differences in the urban and rural experience continue to influence the lifestyles of those living in today's Indonesia.

Pancasila:

Another common thread that may be found throughout Indonesian society is the official state creed of *Pancasila*. Created by Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia, Pancasila is the set of five principles that is meant to guide the Indonesian way of life. The five principles are as follows:

Belief in One God: Indonesians allow freedom of choice in religion but acknowledge the existence of one God. Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism are all recognised as religions which may be practiced.

Nationalism: Indonesians proclaim allegiance to their country and recall the 1928 conference in which delegates declared their support for the idea of one country, one people, and one language for all of Indonesia.

Humanitarianism: Indonesians strive to build a just and humane society for all.

Democracy: ***Musyawarah*** and ***mufakat*** (discussion and consensus) form the basis for democratic involvement.

Social Justice: The weak must be protected and equal opportunities must be provided for the welfare of the people.

Every Indonesian learns about *Pancasila* in the schools. Pancasila is also promoted throughout the government civil service and is represented on the shield of the national coat of arms, which also features the mythical *garuda* bird and the national motto, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,*" which may be translated as "From Many There Is One" or, more commonly, "Unity in Diversity". Pancasila provides a common set of principles for a nation composed of dozens of different ethnic groups.

Major Ethnic Groups of Indonesia

The traditions of Indonesia's different ethnic groups reflect a great variety of customs and belief. It is beyond the scope of this book to describe all of the different groups in detail, but the following brief outlines may provide a hint at some of the features that are typically found in some of Indonesia's largest and best known ethnic groups.

Acehnese:

Inhabiting the northern tip of Sumatra, the Acehnese are famous for their strong resistance to colonial rule and their strong devotion to the Islamic faith. The Acehnese retained their independence from foreign rule for centuries and built a wealthy kingdom supported largely by the production and sale of pepper. Today Aceh is administered as one of three "special districts" in Indonesia (the other two are Yogyakarta and the capital of Jakarta).

Among the Acehnese the nuclear family (the two parents and their children) is the primary social unit. However, by tradition the father may often be absent for long periods while he travels to engage in trade and business. He is expected to return home with money earned from his business. This pattern relies on women to do much of the work in the fields while the men travel and trade. As with many areas in Indonesia, modern life has brought changes that modify these traditional roles.

Minangkabau:

In the middle area of Sumatra are the Minangkabau people. Like the Acehnese, the Minangkabau society encourages men to go out into the world to seek their fortune in trade. This process is called *merantau*, and has caused the Minangkabau people to spread their influence to neighboring areas, including parts of nearby Malaysia. Unlike the Acehnese, however, the Minangkabau are a matrilineal society, meaning descent is traced through the female side of the family tree. Traditionally women inherited the land and property, and men only gained access to wealth by engaging in business while on *merantau*.

How the Minangkabau Got Their Name:

The upturned roofs on the Minangkabau houses and even the twin peaks of the traditional women's headgear remind one of the horns of the buffalo. The reasons for this are said to have originated long ago when the people faced a challenge from an invading army. Rather than engaging in a long and costly war, both sides agreed to decide the fate of the local people by a contest between two buffalo. Seeing the mighty beast from the other side, the local people knew they were doomed to defeat unless they could find some trick to help them. So secretly they kept a baby calf from its mother for a few days before the contest and tipped its tiny horns with razor-sharp daggers.

On the day of the contest the huge buffalo of the enemy paid no attention to the tiny, hungry calf, which ran up to the large buffalo, mistaking it for its mother. As the hungry calf lifted its head upwards under the big buffalo hoping to feed, the daggers tore into the belly of the larger buffalo, killing it instantly. The local people retained their freedom and to this day they call themselves "*Minangkabau*," meaning "Victory of the Buffalo."

According to tradition, when a Minangkabau man and woman marry, the woman will usually continue to live in her parents' home. The man will usually visit his wife every evening but will also have a responsibility to provide for his own sister and her children at home. In a similar way the wife's brother will support and protect her and her children.

The Minangkabau are also known for having contributed much to modern Indonesian literature. Many of the first Indonesian authors to write modern stories in the

national language of Bahasa Indonesia came from the Minangkabau region. This may be due partly to the fact that the Minangkabau language is closely related to the Indonesian national language.

Batak:

Between the Acehnese and the Minangkabau is a region of Sumatra that is home to the Batak people. Unlike the Acehnese and Minangkabau, the Batak were never heavily influenced by Islam. They retained their own distinctive religion based on animism until many converted to Christianity after contact by Dutch and German missionaries. Before this time cannibalism was practiced, though mainly as a ritual form of punishment. Batak society is considered less stratified and less constricted by complex social customs than groups such as the Javanese.

Batak families traditionally belong to a *marga*, or clan. Membership in the clan is inherited through the male line of descent. A man must choose a wife from another clan, preferably the one from which his mother came. The marga owns land in common, though today it may no longer serve that function, especially among city-dwellers. Family and marga obligations still play an important part in the lives of many Bataks.

Balinese:

The Balinese are world famous for their highly refined artistic sense and rich cultural heritage. The Balinese are also the only major Indonesian group to retain the Hindu religion. Although the caste system is not as strict in Bali as it is in India, the Balinese still recognize the four basic caste groups. About 90% of the Balinese belong to the commoner or *Shudra* caste, while the rest belong to one of the upper three castes known as the *Triwangsa*. These three castes are the *Brahman*, (traditionally the priestly caste), the *Satria* (traditionally the warrior caste) and the *Vaisya* (traditionally the merchant caste). Caste does not determine occupation and there is little formal restrictions imposed by caste membership.

What's in a name?

One can tell quite a lot about a Balinese just by knowing the person's name. The Balinese give specific names to their children to signify the order in which they were born. For example, in the Shudra caste, the first born is always named Wayan, the second is named Made, the third Nyoman, and the fourth Ketut. What happens if there is a fifth child? The cycle of names is repeated again, beginning with another Wayan, Made and so forth.

Membership in a caste also determines part of one's name. For example, Brahman men will use Ida Bagus as the first part of their name, while Brahman women will use Ida Ayu. Other castes have their own distinctive names, so the Balinese always can tell each other's caste affiliation just by hearing each other's name.

The Balinese have a "high" and "low" version of their language. The low version is used in every-day speech among equals, while the high version is used when the speaker wishes to indicate respect to the person being addressed. In addition, the *Kawi* language from ancient Java is used in rituals by the priests, and some Hindu religious texts may be preserved in Sanskrit.

The Balinese use two different calendar systems. The first consists of a lunar year of 355 days with a 13th month added every three years. The second is called the *Wuku* system, and consists of a year containing 210 days . The *wuku* year has thirty weeks, each seven days long, and each with its own name. The calendar has several further sets of weeks of different lengths, all of which run concurrently with each other to create a complex set interlocking cycles. The Balinese pay careful attention to pick an auspicious day when planning major events such as weddings.

Every Balinese village has at least three temples. One will be dedicated to the founders of the village. At least one other will be the site for religious activities for the community (e.g. weddings, holy day observances, rituals, and offerings) while another will be dedicated to honor the dead.

Balinese society is organized around several communal groups, each serving a different function. The *banjar* is responsible for ordering the community affairs of the village, including weddings, cremations, and certain religious obligations. The *banjar*

typically owns a village orchestra, a meeting hall and a temple. The head of every household is represented in the *banjar*, making it a democratic administrative unit. The *dadia* is a group representing people with a common ancestor. Membership is inherited through the father. The group maintains a temple in honor of the founding ancestor and may also be involved in sponsoring cooperatives and other economic activities for its members. The *subak* is an agricultural group that is in charge of coordinating the distribution of water for the complex irrigation systems that run through the terraced rice fields. Thus the typical Balinese belongs to several community groups and has specific obligations to the *banjar*, *dadia*, and *subak*.

Javanese:

The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia, constituting an estimated 45% of the total population. Their homeland is in central and eastern Java, though there are sizable numbers of Javanese in some of the other islands, particularly in the southern part of Sumatra. Because of the heavy population density in Java, the government sponsors a program called *transmigrasi* to help move people to other less populated areas.

The Javanese are well known for their emphasis on polite and refined behavior. It is important to maintain a calm, pleasant outward appearance and to show the proper degree of respect for one superiors. Many Javanese words have several different forms, and each speaker must choose the form that demonstrates the proper level of politeness and formality to match the social level of the other person in the conversation.

The highest degree of Javanese cultural evolution is represented in the traditional court life. At the Javanese court, or *kraton*, the noble family would sponsor graceful dance performances as well as musical recitals featuring gamelan orchestras. Shadow puppet plays, known as *wayang kulit*, would be held to retell the legends of mythical heroes of the past. Intricate styles of batik cloth were produced, with each carefully handmade piece sometimes requiring several months to finish. Even the Javanese language developed intricate methods of expression that required the speaker to choose different words to use

when speaking to people of different social standing, and a special set of vocabulary was reserved for use when addressing the sultan.

The typical Javanese village cannot hope to have the same grand sophistication as the royal courts. Nevertheless, there are certain continuities in the culture that extend from the *kraton* to the village level. The *wayang kulit* shadow play is well known even in the small towns and villages, and is often performed as part of a family or community celebration. Javanese speakers can switch back and forth among three major levels of speech depending on their relationship to the other speaker. The traditional woman's costume of batik *sarong* (a long wrapped skirt) and *kebaya* (a tight-fitting long-sleeved blouse) is still commonly worn, though the younger generation in the cities will usually only wear this on special occasions.

Most Javanese are Muslim, though there are some differences in the way in which people practice the religion. Those who follow a strict interpretation of Islam are called *santri*, while those who maintain some of the original Javanese religious traditions along with their belief in Islam are called *abangan*. Among the *abangan* it is common for families to hold a *selamatan* (a special ceremony with religious recitations followed by a communal meal) to mark important points in a person's life, such as birth, circumcision, marriage, and death.

Sundanese:

The Sundanese are the second largest ethnic group, and inhabit the western portion of the island of Java. Like the Javanese, the Sundanese have their own special levels of language to indicate varying degrees of politeness between speakers. The Sundanese also have their own court traditions and classical literature. Though there are naturally some similarities with the neighboring Javanese, the Sundanese maintain their own distinctive cultural traditions. For example, the *wayang* stories of the Sundanese are more commonly performed with three-dimensional carved wooden puppets (*wayang golek*) than with the flat buffalo skin puppets (*wayang kulit*) of the Javanese.

The Sundanese are often described as more strongly attached to Islam than the neighboring Javanese. This is reflected in the numbers of students enrolled in religious schools called *pesantren*. However, just as for the Javanese, the Sundanese recognize a distinction between the devout *santri* and non-*santri* Muslims. The Sundanese mark important life events with a *hajat*, the Sundanese equivalent of the Javanese *selamatan*.

Chinese:

Though only representing a small percentage of the total population, the ethnic Chinese are an important minority in Indonesia. Chinese are found in many of the major cities throughout the country, and are often involved in business rather than agriculture. Approximately half of the Chinese live in Java, while the rest are distributed in other areas of the country.

The Chinese have often been represented in the business world in greater proportion relative to their population than other Indonesian groups, and today many Chinese Indonesians are still involved in commerce. Tensions have sometimes been felt between the Indonesian and Chinese communities, and stereotyped images of the wealthy Chinese still cause some resentment.

Most of the Chinese in Indonesia trace their roots to southern China and are originally of Hakka, Hokkien, or Cantonese ethnic stock. The Chinese Indonesian population is usually divided into two groups. The *totok* Chinese are those who are pure Chinese, and are often first or second generation newcomers who retain a strong affiliation with Chinese culture. The *peranakan* Chinese are those with mixed Chinese and Indonesian background, and they are more likely to have adopted Indonesian cultural traditions. Many *peranakan* Chinese speak Indonesian as their home language.

Languages and Dialects

Indonesia is home to hundreds of different languages and dialects. The exact number of languages in use is difficult to estimate; different sources put the figure any

where between 250 to over 600. Almost all of these languages belong to the Austronesian language family, which also includes many of the languages of the Pacific islands. The common background shared by the Austronesian languages is revealed by the number of words which have the same or similar meanings in different languages. For example the word "*lima*" (meaning "five") is the same in Indonesia's national language, called *Bahasa Indonesia*, and in Tagalog (used in the Philippines) and in Hawaiian. Despite their similarities, the Austronesian languages used in Indonesia are all different from one another and it would be impossible to expect everyone to learn all of them. Clearly there is a need for a single language that all Indonesians can use to communicate with each other.

This need is met by *Bahasa Indonesia*, which is based on Malay. It is used as the language of government, newspapers, television, schools, and public life. Whenever Indonesians from different ethnic groups meet, they may use the national language to carry on a conversation. While most Indonesians still maintain their own ethnic group's language for use at home, the number of people able to speak *Bahasa Indonesia* as a second language keeps growing. Between 1970 and 1980 the number of people speaking *Bahasa Indonesia* grew from about 40% to about 60%. Indonesia has been very successful in promoting its national language.

Bahasa Indonesia is a relatively easy language to learn. It has no tenses and verbs are not conjugated, though there is a system of affixes which must be mastered to learn the language in its formal variety. *Bahasa Indonesia* has evolved from a trading language that has a long history of use throughout the islands, and has absorbed words from many different sources. Dutch, Javanese, Portuguese, Arabic, Sanskrit, and English words have all found their way into *Bahasa Indonesia*.

Many of the major regional languages employ a special vocabulary that forces one to take account of one's own social standing and that of the other speaker. Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese all have this type of system. The complexity of the Javanese language and its built-in recognition of social hierarchy are often given as some of the reasons why it was not chosen as the national language. *Bahasa Indonesia* provides a simpler and more egalitarian way of communication.

Javanese: A Language of Many Levels.

Approximately 45% of all Indonesians speak Javanese as their first language. It is a complex language in which one must choose the correct level of speech based on one's relationship with the listener. Factors such as age, gender, and social status influence this relationship, and all must be considered whenever one engages in conversation. It is impossible to use Javanese and ***not*** indicate whether one is putting oneself at a higher, lower, or equal position to that of the other speaker.

There are three basic levels of Javanese that are commonly used. The low form, *ngoko*, is used between friends or by adults to children, and is considered direct and familiar. The high form, *kromo*, indicates respect and is used when addressing someone of higher rank. It is considered elegant and polite but requires an excellent command of the language; imagine how embarrassing it would be to mistakenly include a low status *ngoko* word in the middle of an otherwise beautiful and refined *kromo* speech! Between the high and low levels is *madyo* Javanese. This may be used when wishing to talk politely to someone of similar status. Even the Javanese admit that it can be difficult to know exactly what level of speech to use in every situation.

Patterns of Religious Beliefs

The national philosophy of Pancasila (mentioned above) recognizes Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism as major religions practiced in Indonesia. Religious freedom is accepted, though everyone is expected to believe in the existence of one supreme God. Islam is by far the most widely practiced religion in the archipelago, making Indonesia the country with the largest number of Muslims in the world.

Islam:

Close to 88% of all Indonesians follow the Islamic religion. Islam had become well established in Indonesia by the 15th and 16th centuries. Indian and Arabic traders

played a significant role in helping spread the religion to Southeast Asia, much of which had previously adopted Hinduism or Buddhism.

Muslims believe that there is but one God, Allah, and that the prophet Mohammed was His messenger on earth. Mohammed is never worshipped or considered as a divine being; he is regarded as the person through whom God revealed his teachings to the world.

In Java there is a belief that Islam was introduced to Indonesia by the *Wali Sang* (Nine Saints). These saints are often represented as possessing magical and mystical qualities, and pilgrimages are still made to their graves. The *Wali* are also sometimes credited with introducing the *kris* (Indonesian wavy-bladed dagger), the *wayang* (shadow puppet) and the *gamelan* (percussion orchestra) to Indonesia, though historically these are all known to have existed in Indonesia before the coming of Islam.

The Wali are thought to have founded the original *pesantren*, places of religious instruction where young people go to learn how to read the Arabic alphabet and recite the holy Qur'an. The *kyai* (religious teacher) will guide the students in learning about Islam, including both the Qur'an and the Hadith (the sayings and traditions of the prophet). Much emphasis is traditionally placed on memorization and recitation of the holy book. The kyai is a particularly respected member of the community, especially if he has made the holy pilgrimage to Mecca.

In the early twentieth century a reformist movement known as *Muhammadiyah* was founded. It established new schools called *madrasah* that integrated the traditional religious instruction with secular subjects such as math, history, and geography. This modern outlook was viewed as a challenge by some of the more traditional *kyai* in the *pesantren*. This more conservative element supported their own religious organization known as *Nahdatul Ulama*, which is still active today.

Islam has been a unifying force that forms a common link for Indonesians from many different ethnic groups. During the nationalist movement prior to independence it was often used a symbol of solidarity. Yet despite the Muslim majority in Indonesia, the country is not an Islamic state. Freedom of religion is preserved and relations between

different religious groups have not resulted in the same tension and even violence that has occurred in India, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines.

Devotion to Islam is particularly apparent during the fasting month of Ramadan. Muslims are not allowed to eat, drink, or smoke from sunrise to sunset during the whole month. Families break the day's fast at sundown and wake up while it is still dark to have an early meal. At the end of the month of fasting comes the celebration of *Lebaran*, also known by the Arabic term *Idul Fitri*, when everyone asks forgiveness from each other for any wrongdoing committed in the last year. It is a time of great festivity; special foods are served and family members receive and wear new clothes. People hold open houses for visits from friends and neighbors. It is the time of year when everyone wants to return home to be with family.

Christianity:

Despite centuries of European contact, Indonesia has never had a large Christian population. The Portuguese attempted to promote Catholicism in the 16th century, and Catholic communities still exist in some of the eastern islands of Indonesia, such as Roti, Timor, and Flores. When the Dutch replaced the Portuguese as the major European power in the area they were not particularly concerned with missionary activity. However, over time they did win some converts, and Protestant communities are found in parts of Maluku, northern Sulawesi, and the Batak region of Sumatra, as well as in many major towns and cities. The total number of all Christians is less than 9% of the population.

Hinduism:

Hinduism was once the religion of many of the most powerful Indonesian kingdoms. Today Hinduism is practiced by only about 2% of the population, and is restricted mainly to Bali (and parts of Lombok where many ethnic Balinese live). The Hinduism of Bali is somewhat different from that practiced in India, and the caste system does not have as much influence in the life of the Balinese as it traditionally has for most Indians. The Balinese call their religion *agama tirta* (the religion of water), perhaps

reflecting the importance given to the holy water that is blessed by priests and used in many rituals.

The visitor to Bali is immediately struck by the thousands of temples that can be found all over the island. Gods and goddesses are thought to descend from the heavens to the temples to visit the earth on holy days and receive food, offering, prayers, and performances of music and dance. Offerings to gods and spirits can be found everywhere, and are made daily. Often these offerings take a highly artistic form; food will be fashioned into colorful towers, flowers will be placed in intricate arrangements, and highly choreographed dances will be practiced to perfection.

The Balinese recognize Sanghyan Widi as the supreme God who manifests Himself in a variety of different forms. The traditional Hindu trinity, known in Bali as *Trisakti*, consists of Brahma, the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer. Additionally, many other gods and goddesses are acknowledged that represent the divine spirit in its many different manifestations.

Buddhism:

Approximately one percent of all Indonesians acknowledge Buddhism as their religion. Buddhism originated in India and spread to Indonesia at about the same time as Hinduism. There are several different forms of Buddhism but the central teachings of the Buddha are common to all. The Buddha taught that there are Four Noble Truths. They may be represented as follows:

- Existence is full of sorrow.
- Desire is the cause of this sorrow.
- Desire and sorrow can be stopped through enlightenment.
- The way to enlightenment is contained in the Eightfold Path.

The Eightfold Path guides one to a pure way of life. It teaches one to practice right belief, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right thinking

and right meditation. If properly followed, the Eightfold Path offers the individual a way to escape the cycle of sorrow.

Each individual is responsible for achieving enlightenment, or nirvana. Meditation may be practiced at any time by anyone. Theravada Buddhism still maintains the emphasis on the individual's personal quest for enlightenment, while Mahayana Buddhism, a later development, includes the belief in bodhisattvas who will assist others in obtaining nirvana.

Though Buddhism today is practiced by only a small proportion of its population, Indonesia is home to the largest Buddhist temple in the world. Built in the 9th century, Borobudur is a masterpiece of religious architecture. Members of the Buddhist community go there to celebrate important holidays such as the Waisak festival commemorating the enlightenment of the Buddha.

Music, Arts, and Crafts

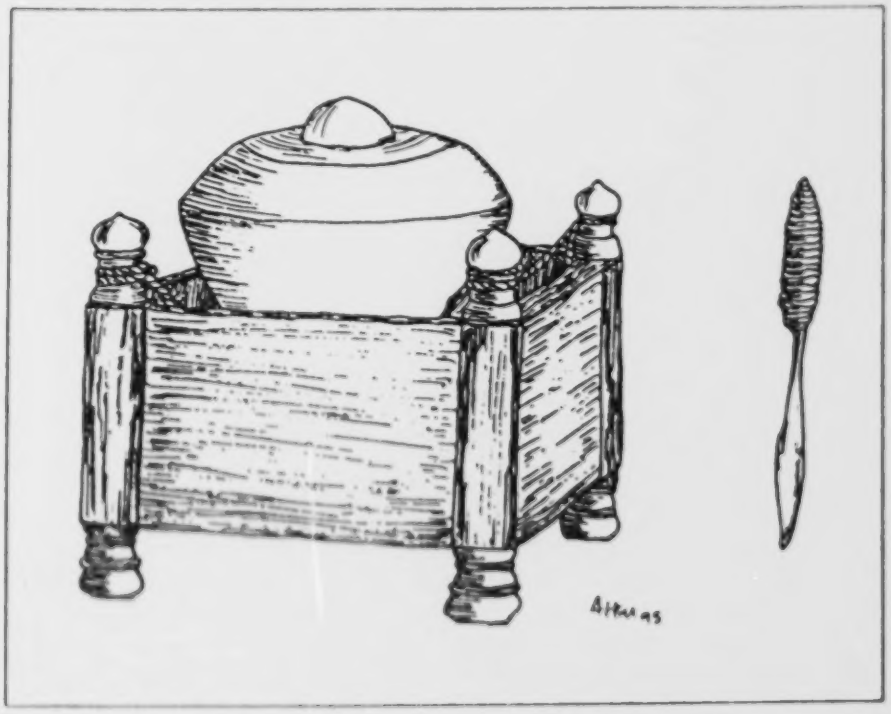
Indonesian culture has produced many outstanding types of art forms. Gamelan music and the *wayang* puppet theater are well-known and distinctively Indonesian cultural traditions. Various court and folk dances have evolved through the centuries, ranging from slow and refined to quick and energetic. Batik cloth is known worldwide and has inspired modern fashion designers. Traditional crafts such as metalwork have reached a high level of sophistication in the production of the *kris* (dagger). These are just some of the arts that a visitor to Indonesia will encounter.

Gamelan:

The term "gamelan" refers to the various types of percussion orchestras used by the Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, and Madurese. The word "gamelan" originates from the Javanese word "*gamel*," meaning "hammer." The choice of term becomes clear when one sees that the gamelan orchestra is dominated by gongs and xylophone-type instruments, all of which are struck with hammers. In addition to the sets of gongs and

metal plates which constitute the majority of the orchestra, a gamelan will contain a drum whose beat serves to lead the group. It may also have parts for the *suling* (flute), the *rebab* (a bowed string instrument) and the human voice. The gamelan players rarely use written music; performers learn their parts through practice and specific pieces are preserved from one generation to the next by constant rehearsal and performance.

Gamelan music can involve complicated cascades of rhythm. Generally the largest instruments with their deep, resonant sounds play at a slow pace to punctuate major sections of the piece, while the next smaller set of instruments establish the main melody and the smallest, highest-pitched instruments provide faster-paced ornamentation and variations on the melody.



Gamelan styles have evolved distinctive patterns in various parts of Indonesia. Javanese style gamelan tends to have a slower, stately and some would say mystical quality to its music. This matches the elegant and refined court dances which it sometimes

accompanies. In contrast to this measured style, the Balinese gamelan compositions are often characterized by fast, sudden, shimmering crescendos that alternate with softer sections.

Gamelan music is performed on a variety of occasions. It may be performed by itself as a musical concert. It may also produce the musical accompaniment to court dances or religious festivals. It is also used to provide a musical component to the *wayang* shadow play. Its captivating sounds have even served as an inspiration to a number of modern Western composers.

Wayang:

The term wayang, a Javanese word meaning "shadow," is used to refer to a form of theater using puppets. Wayang, like dance dramas, often portrays traditional stories, legends and religious tales. Aside from providing popular entertainment, wayang delivers religious and moral instruction and teaches good behavior. The traditional form has adapted to modern life by including commentary about current events. Even government information campaigns have utilized the wayang as a way to educate the public.

Several different forms of wayang exist in various parts of Indonesia. The most famous is probably the *wayang kulit* of Java. This form uses flat, intricately designed leather puppets with moveable arms attached to sticks. The *dalang* (puppeteer) sits cross-legged behind a large white screen and manipulates the puppets while he tells the story. A lamp is used to light the screen from behind and to cast shadows of the puppets onto the screen. The audience sitting in front of the screen only sees the moving shadows and hears the *dalang's* voice. The dalang must be able to maintain different voices for all the characters in the drama. This is quite an accomplishment, since a traditional wayang presentation lasts all night and involves scores of different characters. A dalang's collection of puppets may reach as high as two hundred. Despite the fact that the audience cannot see them directly, all the puppets are richly decorated in bright colors.

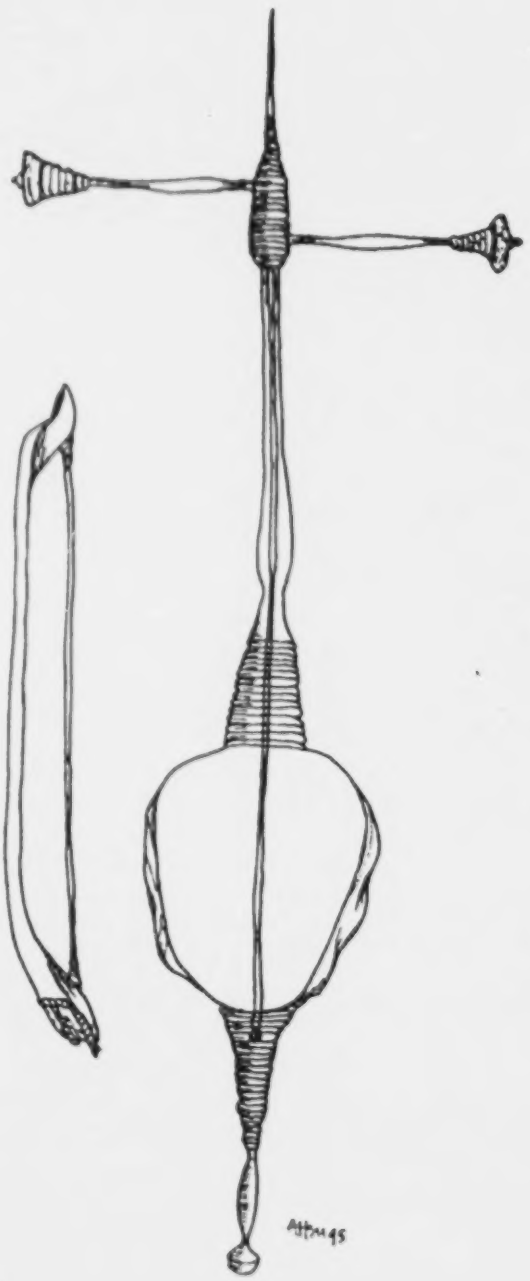
The wayang golek of west Java uses three dimensional wooden puppets with moveable heads and arms. There is no screen, so the audience can see the puppets directly (as well as the dalang). Wayang wong uses human actors in the roles otherwise filled by puppets. The actors' make-up and movements imitate that of their puppet counterparts. Wayang topeng is similar to wayang wong, except that the actors wear stylized masks to give them an even stronger resemblance to the puppets.

Dance:

One of the main purposes of Indonesian dance is to tell traditional stories and legends. These stories often portray the clash between good and evil. Dance is also used in rituals for important events such as births, funerals, weddings and harvests.

There are many different types of dance in Indonesia. The Javanese courts are home to the refined *bedoyo-serimpi* tradition, with its elegant costumes and stylized movements. Many Balinese dances proceed at a more energetic pace. Some of the more popular Balinese dances are the barong, *legong*, *baris*, *kecak*, and *sanghyang*. The Barong dance portrays the age-old clash between good and evil. The Barong is a mythical creature which resembles something like a cross between a lion and a dragon, and represents the forces of good. His opponent is the evil witch Rangda. A group of men attack Rangda with their krisses, but Rangda uses her black magic to make the men turn their krisses on themselves. In this dance real krisses are used and the dancers who are supposed to attack Rangda fall into a trance and dig their krisses into their chests. In their trance state the dancers are not harmed and the krisses do not pierce their flesh. The dance ends with the Barong freeing the men from the evil influence of Rangda. Priests are on hand with holy water to help bring the dancers out of their trances.

The *legong* is a highly stylized dance that is always performed by young girls. It tells the story of a king who abducts a young maiden and is forced to fight the girl's brother. The *baris* is a dance that portrays the development of a young boy into a fearless warrior. The *kecak* dance has become famous for its large male chorus that assumes the role of the monkey army described in the legend of Rama and Sita. The *sanghyang* is



The Rebab

The rebab is a string instrument that is held in an upright position while the musician is seated on the floor. It is played with a bow and is usually used in gamelan music.

performed by a pair of young girls who both enter into a trance and perform a complex set of movements in perfect unison. Amazingly, the dancers keep their eyes closed for the entire dance!

Many Indonesian dances are accompanied by gamelan music and make use of elaborate and colorful costumes. The dances are often demanding and dancers may need years of training to gain the level of skill required for the performances. Dance dramas are a popular form of entertainment. One of the most spectacular is a re-enactment of the Ramayana that is performed at the ancient temple ruins of Prambanan in central Java on summer nights of the full moon.

The Story of the Ramayana:

The Ramayana is one of the most popular and widely known stories in Indonesia. It is frequently retold in wayang performances and in dance dramas. The Ramayana originated in India and is thought to have been written by the Indian sage Valmiki in the 3rd or 4th century B.C. The full version has 24,000 verses. Naturally most performances present only a small portion of the entire story. The following version outlines the main events.

Once there lived an old king named Dasarata who wanted to hand over his kingdom to his eldest son, Rama. But the king had earlier given his word to his second wife, Kekayi, that she could ask for and receive two wishes at any time. Kekayi took the opportunity to use these wishes to help her own son. Her first wish was to have the king banish his son Rama to the forest for fourteen years. The second wish was to have her own son put on the throne as the new king. The old king was horrified to hear these requests, but was bound by his word to do as she asked. Amidst great sorrow Rama was sent away to the forest.

Rama was accompanied by his wife, Sita, and his brother, Laksmana. The three of them lived in the forest for thirteen years. Then one day a wicked giant named Ravana caught sight of the beautiful Sita, and devised a plan to capture her. One of his helpers magically turned himself into a golden deer. Sita was so captivated by the sight of the beautiful deer that she asked Rama to go off to capture it. Rama followed the deer and shot it with his bow and arrow. When the arrow hit the creature it was transformed back into the evil helper of Ravana. In its dying breath it cried out for help, disguising its voice to sound like Rama. Upon hearing this cry for help, Sita and Laksmana feared that Rama was in trouble, and Laksmana ran off to help him.

Sita was then alone in the forest. Ravana appeared and carried her off to his island kingdom of Langka. On the way he had to fight the noble garuda bird Jatayu, which tried to help Sita but was wounded so badly that it was barely able to fly to Rama and inform him of his wife's dangerous plight. Rama traveled towards Ravana's castle, meeting Hanuman the monkey king along the way. Hanuman and his monkey army joined forces with Rama.

Once they reached the coast, the monkeys jumped on each other's back in an arch formation to make a bridge all the way to the island of Langka. Rama and Hanuman crossed over to Ravana's fortress and a tremendous fight followed. Finally Rama and Ravana met face to face, and Rama slew him with an arrow let loose from his magic bow. Rama and Sita were re-united and returned to their original home. The people rejoiced at their sight and welcomed them warmly. Rama was installed as king with Sita as his queen, and all of the country prospered under their rule.

Batik:

The art of making batik is associated with the royal courts of Indonesia. The traditional method, called *batik tulis*, involves tracing a pattern onto a length of cotton cloth. A *canting* (a pen-like device that holds molten wax) is used to apply wax to those areas of the pattern that will not require a particular color. Once the wax has been applied, the fabric is dipped into a vat of dye, which colors all areas except the waxed portions. Traditional organic dyes include indigo blue and soga brown, though today modern imported dyes are used. The cloth is dried and the process is repeated with more wax designs and the application of more dyes. The final product reveals the completed pattern with a variety of colors. It is a complicated process that can take weeks or even months to produce a single piece.

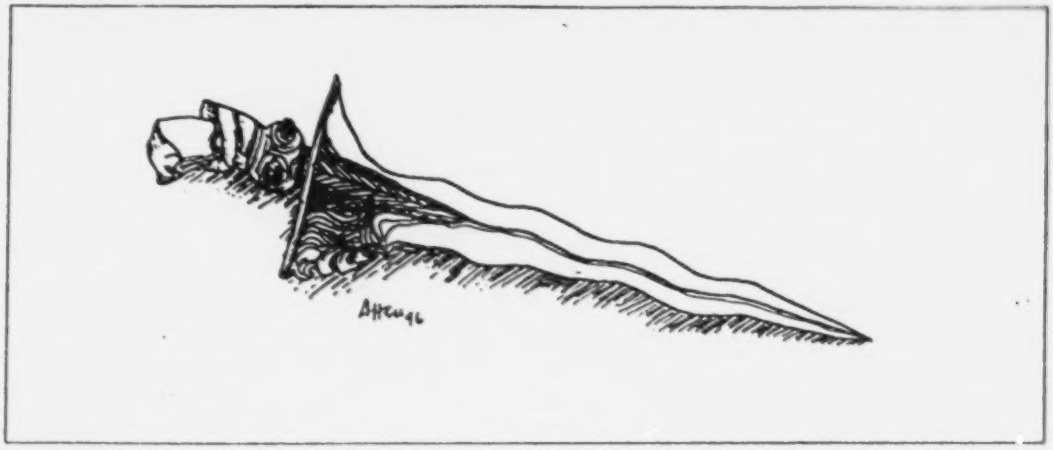
A faster way of applying the wax is to use a *cap*, or metal stamp. The *cap* allows a wax pattern to be applied quickly and uniformly to the batik, but does not allow the artistry or the expression of a unique style that is allowed by the *canting* method. Today many batik designs are simply printed directly onto cloth, eliminating the wax procedure completely. This type of cloth is not regarded as real batik.

Different styles of batik design have evolved in different parts of Java. Yogyakarta, Solo, Cirebon, and Pekalongan all have their distinctive styles. In earlier times specific patterns were reserved for use by those at court. Batik has long been used for sarongs, and recently has increasingly been used in modern fashion design. Women may wear full length batik dresses and men wear batik shirts to formal occasions.

Kris:

A *kris* is a dagger, usually with a wavy blade, which may have originally represented the *naga* or serpent. More than a simple weapon, the *kris* is often handed down as a valued possession from father to son. An old custom from Bali allowed a prince to be represented by his kris at his wedding ceremony when marrying a woman of lower caste. Royal *kris* form part of the *pusaka*, or heirlooms that are thought to possess special power. Some say that there are krisses that can fly through the sky by themselves, or turn

on evil people. The making and handling of a *kris* often involve great care and attention. The *kris* must be treated with respect at all times.



The blade of the *kris* is usually made of steel, and may be decorated with intricate incised patterns. Silver and even gold may be used to decorate the handle and scabbard. Many beautiful examples exist that are inlaid with precious stones and adorned with fine artwork.

Food and Drink

Visitors to Indonesia are sometimes overwhelmed by the great variety of delicious foods to be found. One quickly discovers that in most places rice is the main food and is often eaten three times a day. (The eastern area of Indonesia is less suited to rice cultivation, and there sago may serve as the staple food.) Plain boiled rice is served with a variety of side dishes, including spicy curries, tofu, *tempe* (fermented soy bean cake), cooked vegetables, dried fish, and/or grilled skewers of meat known as *sate*. Rice may also be fried with vegetables, egg, and shreds of meat to make the popular dish *nasi goreng*. *Lontong* are sticks of rice which have been steamed inside banana leaf wrappers. For special ceremonies, yellow rice is served heaped into a tall mountain on the serving platter; its distinctive color is obtained by adding turmeric during cooking.

Other popular dishes include *mie goreng* (fried noodles), *gado-gado* (a vegetable salad of beansprouts, cabbage, cucumber, and tomato topped with a peanut sauce) and

rendang (a spicy dish of beef simmered in coconut milk). Various types of soups are also common favorites. Accompanying many meals is the spicy condiment *sambal*, made from crushed chili peppers.

Indonesian beverages include thick, sweet, dark coffee (made simply by pouring boiling water on finely ground coffee), tea, and a huge variety of cold drinks featuring syrups, fruits, ice, condensed milk, gelatin pieces, and other interesting ingredients. Alcohol is seldom used, as it is forbidden by the Islamic religion. Some herbal potions are consumed for their medicinal properties. Known as *jamu*, these remedies are popular in many areas of Indonesia and are used to regain health, strength, and beauty. The traditional *jamu* lady, with her basket of bottled concoctions strapped to her back, is a common sight as she makes her rounds of the neighborhood.

Street vendors selling a variety of goods are common in Indonesia. Pushing their wheeled carts ahead of them, these vendors cook and sell everything from grilled skewers of sate to noodle soup. Each vendor will announce his approach with an easily identifiable sound, such as tapping a metal gong or wooden block, or singing out in a long high-pitched tone. It is easy to eat an entire meal simply by waiting for various food vendors to walk by and sell you the next course.

Food stalls called *warungs* are also favorite choices among Indonesians for good inexpemsive food. These stalls may be set up on the side of the road or under the shade of a large tree and offer the perfect place for a quick snack, a cup of coffee, and a place to sit and chat with friends. The warung usually consists of little more than a plain wooden table with benches covered by a plastic tarp, with a tiny corner reserved for the owner to prepare the food and drinks. Despite the simple surroundings, the warungs often provide excellent food at very low prices.

More formal eating options include the *rumah makan* (literally "eating house") or *restoran*. Chinese restaurants are common throughout the islands. Padang restaurants are also popular all over the country. At the Padang restaurant the diner is brought a heaping serving of rice and a variety of ten to fifteen different dishes, all miraculously balanced on the arms of the skilled waiters. The diner only eats from and pays for those dishes that

look appealing. Padang cooking originates from west Sumatra, and is very spicy. Other ethnic cuisines are equally delicious. Eating in Indonesia is a wonderful experience.

The Cycle of Life

Important life events such as birth, marriage, and death are acknowledged in all cultures of the world. In Indonesia these events are celebrated in a variety of ways, often depending on the local *adat* and the religion of each person. Just as it is not possible to describe all the variations of *adat* that exist in Indonesia, it would also be impossible to adequately represent all the variations that exist in marriage ceremonies, death rituals, and other rites. The following descriptions are meant only to give an indication of some of the major types of celebrations, with examples drawn from some of the well-known ethnic groups.

Birth:

Even before birth it is common to find ceremonial observances aimed at the mother-to-be and her child. Throughout Indonesia there are many variations on what is called the *tujuh bulan* ("seven month") ceremony for pregnant women. The woman is often given a ritual bath, and may be given special food to eat. In some areas the woman is wrapped in seven pieces of cloth. These cloths are carefully saved for use in the "turun tanah" ceremony of the baby (see below) and later to wrap the body at death.

The Balinese hold special ceremonies 12 days, 42 days, and 3 months after the birth of a child. After 210 days (equal to one year by the Balinese calendar) there is a special "*turun tanah*" celebration in which the baby is allowed to touch the earth for the first time. Prior to this moment the baby is always carried by the mother or other family members.

The Batak will take the baby out to "see the sun" seven days after birth to be seen by the rest of the village. The mother will make a special kind of rice cake with sugar and spices to be offered to friends and family. The Javanese place many different objects in front of the child, (such as a pen, a book, gold) and attempt to determine something about

the future character of the child by observing which object the baby chooses. *Selamatan* celebrations are held when the child's hair is cut and when it receives its name. A Minangkabau baby girl will be given gifts of gold.

Adolescence:

Several types of ceremonies may mark a child's ritual passage into the adult world. In Islamic society a young boy typically is circumcised between the ages of seven and fourteen. This event is celebrated with a *selamatan* and the invited guests may bring gifts to the boy. In Bali both boys and girls undergo a tooth filing ceremony. Sharp pointed teeth are thought to be fit only for animals, so the Balinese file down the points of the teeth to produce a more esthetically pleasing smile.

Marriage:

Weddings are celebrated with lavish receptions attended by hundreds of guests. The couple often sit on high-backed formal chairs on a raised platform for everyone to see. Other rituals associated with marriage include a ritual bath for the Javanese or Sundanese bride given at home before the official ceremony. This is followed by a procession to the bride's house, the Islamic *nikah* (wedding contract ceremony) and a selamatan.

In Bali weddings may take a different form. The "proper" way to propose marriage involves formalized courting and gift giving and generally costs a large amount of money. A second, cheaper and more common alternative is to elope. The young man will abduct his bride-to-be and the couple will run off together. A small ceremony is held for the couple to make the marriage official. Meanwhile, the woman's family (which is often well aware of the identity of the groom and of what has happened) must maintain the appearance of being greatly worried or angry. A few days later the couple returns and asks forgiveness, and life returns to normal.

Death:

Funerals are commonly attended by large numbers of family, friends, and associates. It is considered a necessary sign of respect for a lost friend or acquaintance, even if it means taking off from work and getting on a long bus ride to go to the hometown of the deceased. Islamic tradition requires a body to be buried within twenty-four hours of death. The body is bathed, wrapped in white cloth, and finally taken to the cemetery where it is buried facing Mecca. Prayers and selametan ceremonies are held to observe the 7th, 15th, 40th, 100th, and 1000th days after death.

In Bali the corpse is bathed and buried in preparation for its eventual cremation. The soul is not considered truly free until the material body is destroyed. For this reason the cremation ceremony is viewed as a joyous occasion which provides the final release to the soul of the departed. The body is carried into a large sarcophagus (each caste has a distinctive shape) and then burned in a funeral tower. The ashes are carried to the sea or to a river and a final ceremony is held 12 or 42 days after the cremation. The cremation ceremonies are elaborate affairs and families may have to wait for several years while they save up enough money to stage the event.

Summary:

Indonesia is home to a vast array of cultural and geographical diversity. Its land holds an enormous wealth of mineral resources as well as a great array of interesting animal and plant life. Its people represent a diverse mix of ethnic groups, each with its own unique and rich culture.

It is remarkable that a country of such variety should be so successful in unifying its people. The people's commitment to the spirit of compromise and acceptance have given strength to the motto "Unity in Diversity."

EXERCISES

I Multiple Choice:

1) Indonesia is composed of more than this number of islands (choose highest correct answer):

a) 135
b) 13,500
c) 1,350
d) 35

2) Which of the following countries is not a direct neighbor of Indonesia within island Southeast Asia:

a) the Philippines
b) Singapore
c) Cambodia
d) Malaysia

3) The major Indonesian islands known as the "Greater Sunda Islands" include all of the following except:

a) Sumatra
b) Borneo
c) Tidore
d) Java

4) Monsoon winds have been important in Indonesia because they:

a) influence high and low tides
b) help people sail within Southeast Asia and even to India and China
c) influence the wet and dry seasons
d) answers b and c

5) Which of the following Indonesian animals are endangered species:

a) Javan rhino
b) Sumatran tiger
c) orangutan
d) all of the above

6) The dried meat of the coconut is called:

a) sago
c) copra
c) betel
d) lontar

7) The single largest ethnic group in Indonesia are the:

a) Sundanese
b) Javanese
c) Balinese
d) Acehnese

8) Most Balinese are:

a) Hindu
b) Muslim
c) Christian
d) atheists

9) Which of the following languages is used as the national language:

a) Javanese
b) Bahasa Indonesia
c) Sundanese
d) English

10) The shadow puppet performance is called:

a) wayang
b) gamelan
c) kecak
d) batik tulis

II Fill in the blanks:

In western Indonesia the islands of Sumatra, Java, and Madura form part of the _____ shelf, while to the east the island of New Guinea forms part of the _____ shelf. Between these two areas lies the _____ _____, which separates the habitats of the animals from the Asian mainland and the Australian continent.

Indonesia's many _____ provide both a danger to people and a beneficial source of nutrients to the soil. Fertile soil and irrigation are two key components of the _____ system of agriculture, which has been used for centuries to produce rice in terraced fields. The *ladang* form of agriculture, also known as _____, or as _____and _____, (because it involve clearing new fields) has also been used in many parts of Indonesia.

Indonesia has two major seasons: the _____ season and the _____ season. The rhythm of the seasons is important in the lives of those involved in agriculture, which in 1989 still employed more than_____% of the Indonesian workforce.

III Questions for Debate:

Carefully think through all sides of the following issues. Your teacher will assign you to or let you choose one point of view in a class debate.

1) Indonesia has one of the largest areas of tropical rainforest in Southeast Asia. These forests are important reserves of biodiversity and shelter a great number of valuable and endangered species. The timber and wood products from these forests are also a major source of income for the country.

Should outside countries or agencies have the right to determine or influence how Indonesia uses these forests? Should foreign aid donors allow and/or encourage Indonesia to use a "debt for conservation area" swap that lets Indonesia "pay back" foreign loans by establishing rainforest preserves? Who would benefit from such a scheme?

2) Review the five principles of Pancasila, Indonesia's state philosophy. Would such a system work in your country? Discuss why or why not.

For further discussion: The world has many systems of government. Is it possible to create a universal set of principles of government that is acceptable to everyone?

IV Essay Questions:

1) Based on the information in chapter one, discuss the similarities and differences of Indonesia and the United States of America. Begin your discussion with a comparison of the national motto of each country, "Bhinnekat Tunggal Ika" and "E Pluribus Unum."

2) Indonesia actively promotes the use of its national language in the schools, media, and government, though many of its citizens continue to use a regional language in the home. What are the benefits of this policy? Should the U.S. make English its sole official language or should it allow the use of other languages in schools and on government forms?

3) What is the "Ring of Fire?" How has it affected the geography of Indonesia? What consequences does it have for Indonesia's people?

V <u>Creative Writing:</u>

1) Imagine you have been sent to Indonesia to photograph wild animals for a magazine article on endangered species. Describe your adventures, including the animals you will look for, the climate conditions, and the type of terrain in which you will work.

2) Read the Ramayana story in this chapter and retell it in your own words by writing a script with dialog for all the characters. This can be used as a skit for you and your classmates to act out in class.

VI Map Knowledge:

On the map below, identify and label the following:

1-7) Each of the ASEAN countries (underline the name of each country)

8) China

9) India

10-14) Each of the Greater Sunda islands

15) The Wallace Line

CHAPTER 2

EARLY INDONESIAN SOCIETIES

The story of human societies in Indonesia stretches thousands of years into the past. In fact, remains of one of the early forms of hominids (human-like creatures) that lived over a million years ago have been found on the island of Java. Discovered in 1890 by the Dutch archeologist Eugene Dubois, this form of *Homo erectus* came to be known as Java Man. Later discoveries confirmed a variety of other early hominid populations extending up to 35-40,000 years ago, including Solo Man, named after the river in central Java near the site of the excavated remains. Examples of early *Homo sapiens* (true modern human beings), called Wajak Man, have been found in Java dating from 12-13,000 years ago.

But very little is known of these people, and many scientists believe that Indonesia's population today is descended from waves of immigrants who came from China and Indochina (the area comprising Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam). However some authorities have recently re-examined the possibility that a branch of *Homo sapiens* may have evolved independently in Indonesia and instead of dying out simply interbred with the foreign immigrants. Answers to this debate will have to come from future archeologists.

This chapter will focus on the early Indonesian societies that developed after the waves of immigration from the north had distributed people all over the archipelago. It is important to realize that evidence of these early societies is scarce and must be reconstructed from a variety of sources. Because of the difficulty of piecing together all the early evidence, many writers have simply started their histories of Indonesia with the better documented era of history beginning after European contact. Other writers have looked at society in Indonesia before European contact, but may have gone too far in

characterizing Indonesian kingdoms as simply a blend of Indian and Chinese influences. Because foreigners have been attracted to Indonesia for centuries and because Indonesia has adapted to influences from many countries, some historians have overlooked the local traditions of Indonesia and emphasized only the effects of outside traders and rulers. It is important to balance the story of Indonesia's history to include the original beliefs and traditions of the local people, as well as the customs that may have been adopted from abroad.

This chapter will start by examining the types of evidence available for reconstructing Indonesia's early history. The influence of foreign contact with China and India will be investigated, as will relations with other neighbors such as the Philippines and the Malay Peninsula. Finally, we will trace the evolution of some of the most powerful early Indonesian empires.

THE SOURCES OF EARLY INDONESIAN HISTORY

Historians have traditionally concentrated on analyzing written records to reconstruct or comment on past events. But what can we do when there are very few written records, or in some cases, none at all?

In these situations we must become detectives, searching for clues to unravel the mysteries of the past. When did the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism reach Indonesia, and who were the people who brought these new beliefs? What happened 1500 years ago to a mysterious kingdom on the island of Borneo, now known from a few stone inscriptions? How far did the ancient empire of Srivijaya extend its power and influence? What were the relations between the different ethnic groups within Indonesia, as well as between Indonesians and the people of neighboring countries? These are the types of questions that students of Indonesian history try to answer using a variety of different kinds of evidence.

Linguistic Evidence

When examining the links between the different ethnic groups in Indonesia one of the important clues to examine is language. Within the Indonesian archipelago there are hundreds of different languages. Some languages are confined to only one of the more than 13,000 islands, and sometimes even on one small island there are many different dialects or languages to be found. Yet the vast majority of these languages are all related to each other and belong to what is called the *Austronesian* language family. The few Indonesian languages that do not belong to this family are found far to the east on the island of New Guinea and in north Maluku.

The Austronesian language family is not limited to Indonesia. For example, the Philippine languages are also part of the Austronesian family. So is Malay, which is the source of both the Malaysian and Indonesian national language. This linguistic similarity indicates the common cultural base that underlies all the people of island Southeast Asia. There is also an area of what is now southern Vietnam where an Austronesian language was spoken. This was the kingdom of Champa, which was an important power in early Southeast Asian history. As we shall see later in this chapter, there is evidence of court relations between Champa and some of the Indonesian kingdoms on the island of Java.

Can language tell us anything about the history of a people? Examining the similarities and differences among the various Austronesian languages may provide some information about certain characteristics of the early speakers of these languages. For example, if all the modern languages descended from the early form of Austronesian language contain similar sounding words to represent a particular thing, we can guess at the original form of the word as it was in the early version of the language. For example, the word for the number five in many of today's Austronesian languages (such as Malay, Tagalog, and some Pacific island languages) is "lima": thus we can guess that the early Austronesian form of the word "five" was also probably "lima." Not only can we guess at the probable form of the word as it existed in the early language (i.e. how the word was pronounced), we also know that the idea or thing described by that word must have existed in that early society. Using this theory and comparing many Austronesian

languages as evidence, we can learn about some aspects of life in early Austronesian-speaking societies. The words that existed in the early Austronesian languages tell us that early Indonesian society was familiar with fishing and the domestication of animals. The people practiced wet rice cultivation and were organized in village communities. They were familiar with outrigger canoes and the use of certain metals.

Early Inscriptions and Chronicles

Although written Indonesian materials from before the tenth century are scarce, some early written remains have been found. Most commonly these remains are in the form of stone inscriptions, usually commissioned by the local ruler. Unfortunately, the inscriptions are not always easy to translate, and sometimes information is incomplete due to missing pieces or the difficulty in reading letters that have been worn nearly smooth by long exposure to the elements. It is also difficult to accurately date some of the inscriptions.

Nevertheless, stone tablets have provided valuable information to give us the names of some of the early kings as well as the types of events that they felt were worthy of commemoration, such as battles, irrigation schemes, or religious events. Even the type of script used in writing the tablets provides some useful information: many are written in alphabets that originated in India, suggesting that Indian religious leaders or traders may have introduced literacy to some of the local Indonesian societies.

Sometimes virtually all we know about a kingdom comes from a few stone tablets. For example, one of the earliest recorded Hindu kingdoms in Indonesia is known almost entirely from four inscriptions dating from around AD 400 which were unearthed at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river in Kalimantan. From them we know that a prince named Kudungga had two sons, one of which founded the dynasty that ruled at Muara Kaman. Kudungga's successors, Acvavarman and then Mulavarman, have Indian names. This along with the fact that the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit and refer to certain Indian religious practices makes it clear that the Muara Kaman kingdom was directly

influenced by contact with Hindu India. But the fate of Mulavarman and his kingdom is lost in the jungles of Borneo.

More complete information is available from early chronicles. Two of the main Javanese chronicles are the *Pararaton*, or the Book of Kings, and the *Nagarakertagama*. These sources were written at a much later date than the inscriptions mentioned above. The version of the *Pararaton* that is available to us dates from the sixteenth century, though it tells the story of earlier times. The *Nagarakertagama* was written in 1365, and only a single copy of it has been found so far. Though it deals primarily with Javanese history, the single version that has been located was found during the late nineteenth century on the neighboring island of Lombok.

These and other early historical writings can give a good deal of information about what life was like long ago in the age of early Javanese kingdoms. Yet it must be remembered that the authors of these texts were not modern historians but rather poets or story-tellers writing tales that sought to perpetuate the legends of the past and glorify the particular king who had commissioned the writing to be done. Mystical powers and divine attributes were part of the authority of the early kings. Thus we find mention of myth and magic interwoven with fact. It takes a good deal of skill, and some educated guesses, to separate the "truth" from the rest of the legend. Nonetheless, our knowledge of the great empire of Majapahit would be considerably less if we did not have the information from these court chronicles.

Ethnographic Evidence: Studying Present-day Societies

An alternate source of information about the past can be obtained from studying the present. Some relatively isolated groups of people in Indonesia have maintained a way of life that is thought to be very similar to that of their ancestors many centuries ago, and thus may represent certain characteristics of Indonesian society from a time predating our written records. Such groups are commonly referred to as still living in the Stone Age, though this term has been used rather loosely by popular reporters. However, some of the tribes living in Irian Jaya, Kalimantan, or off the coast of Sumatra still practice a lifestyle

that is largely untouched by modern ways. By studying their societies we may gain valuable clues about life in the past.

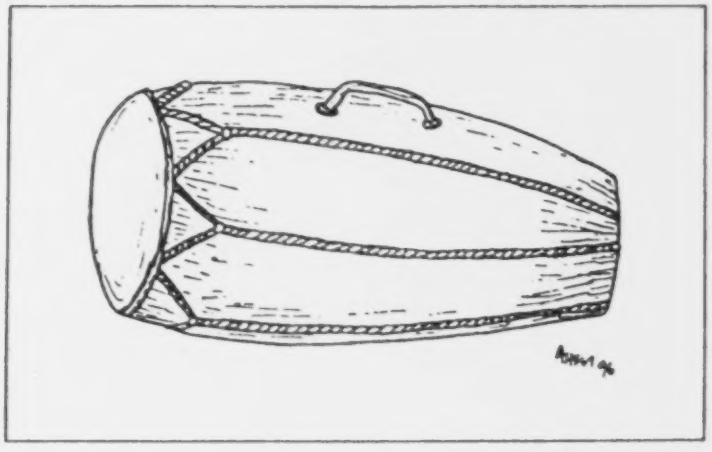
For example, the Sakuddei tribe of Siberut (one of the Mentawai islands off the western coast of Sumatra) live in small communities of about ten families, in what has been described as a classless society. They have no single clearly defined leader, but rather make important decisions through a process of discussing an issue until a consensus is reached. Elders of the village command a special respect in this process, but everyone, not just the elders, participates. This process of reaching a mutually acceptable course of action is familiar throughout Indonesia, and in the national language is called *musyawarah*. They subsist by cultivating taro and sago, as well as by hunting, fishing, and raising chickens and pigs.

The Sakuddei believe that all things possess a spirit, or life-force that is independent of the physical body or object with which it is associated. People, animals, plants and even stones have their own spirits. In this system of belief, often called *animism*, it is important to be aware not only of what a person's physical being says and does, but also of what that person's spirit or soul is feeling and doing. Similarly it is unwise to treat an animal or even a tree or stone with disrespect lest one disturb their spirits. Certain people, animals, or objects may have especially strong spirits or powers. The Sakuddei believe that when a person's body becomes old or injured, the soul goes to look for the ancestors: if the ancestors accept the soul, the person's body will die. The world is full with the spirits of the ancestors, as well as those of the living. The ancestors are worthy of respect and attention, since their spirits may interact with those of the living and since all souls of the living will eventually be reunited with those of their ancestors.

On the other side of Indonesia in Irian Jaya live many different tribes that have had relatively little contact with the outside world: some still practiced head-hunting up to recent times. The Dani tribe only became known to the outside world in 1938. The Marind-Anim is another tribe of Irian Jaya whose way of life also embodies much of what may have been typical for other early Indonesian societies. The Marind-Anim cultivate yams and taro as well as bananas and some other crops. They hunt, fish and use dugout canoes. They do not produce metal objects, and their knives are made from bamboo or

bone. Like the Sakuddei, the Marind-Anim are animists, believing all things possess a life-force or spirit. Also important is their link with the ancestors of their clan. Decisions are made primarily by the elders of the community, and there is no formal hierarchy of power.

This and other evidence of different ethnic groups suggest certain features that may have been common to early Indonesian society. Animism, reverence towards ancestors, and respect for the elders of a community are some of these widespread cultural values that have shaped society throughout much of Indonesian history.



Legends and Folk Tales

Is there truth in a folk tale? Are legends simply fantasy or can they tell us something about the society in which they are found? Of course many legends contain colorful and fanciful details that modern readers treat as fiction, but some useful information can be gained by studying them. For example, the story of Ken Angrok features a *kris*, or wavy-bladed dagger, that has a curse cast upon it which seals the fate of the next seven rulers of the kingdom of Singhosari in east Java. While some may not choose to accept the story of the curse as fact, the legend nevertheless gives us some idea of the identity of the rulers of Singhosari as well as the power struggles that may have led to each king's rise and fall.

The legend of Ken Angrok:

Once long ago in the lands near Singhosari there lived a man named Ken Angrok. He possessed special powers and great strength, for he was part god and part human. But as a young man Ken Angrok followed a way of crime, living as an outlaw until a Brahman priest met him and taught him how to use his magical abilities to gain even higher powers. At this time he met the queen of Singhosari, a beautiful woman named Dedes, and he immediately fell in love with her. He was determined to kill her husband, the King of Singhosari, so that he could marry Dedes and become king himself.

Ken Angrok went to a master sword-maker and ordered a *kris* to be made for him. While the sword-maker was putting the finishing touches on the kris, Ken Angrok became impatient, and grabbed the *kris* into his own hands. Eager to test his new weapon, Ken Angrok plunged the kris into the side of the sword-maker, who with his dying breath put a curse on Ken Angrok and the *kris*, saying that seven kings would die from that one *kris*.

Ken Angrok hurried back to Singhosari to be close to Queen Dedes. But he cleverly lent his *kris* to a friend, who showed off the beautiful dagger to everyone. Then Ken Angrok stole the *kris* back from his friend and murdered the king. When the slain king was found with the *kris* lying next to him, everyone assumed that it was the friend who had murdered the king, for everyone had seen him wearing the *kris* for days. And so it was that the friend was executed as a traitor, while Ken Angrok married Queen Dedes and became the new king.

But Ken Angrok was not content with being king of Singhosari alone. He won a war against King Kertajaya of nearby Kediri, and thereby expanded his realm. But fate caught up with him. Anusanatha, a son of Queen Dedes and the old king of Singhosari, discovered that it was Ken Angrok who had murdered his father. He found the very same *kris* that had been used to kill the old king and gave it to a friend to kill Ken Angrok. He then killed the friend and became the new king himself. He held the throne from AD 1227 to 1248, yet he too was subject to the curse of the *kris*.

One day Anusanatha was killed by Tohjaya, the son of Ken Angrok, who had somehow obtained the *kris*. But Anusanatha's son, Rangga Wuni, sought revenge against Tohjaya and killed him. And so it was that each in their turn died by that *kris*, until seven rulers of Singhosari had died and the curse was fulfilled. Rangga Wuni's son obtained the throne in 1268. His name was Kertanagara, and he was to be the last king of Singhosari.

Other myths or legends give information about religious beliefs, social organization, political alliances, folk beliefs, community values, and ancestor worship as well as about other kings and kingdoms. While judgment must be used in deciding which individual elements of a legend may be based on fact, this does not prevent viewing the study of legends as a very useful source of information about the past.

Accounts from Foreign Traders and Rulers

Around AD 160 the geographer Ptolemy briefly mentioned the Indonesian islands. He was the first Westerner to do so, though a Greek sea captain, who authored the book *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* some time between AD 40 and 75, had traveled as far as India, and had recorded trading ships operating there that may well have come from Indonesia. From these and other accounts it seems clear that the Indonesians had already been trading with India and beyond some 2000 years ago.

Spices were the main object of trade, and Indonesian ships and outriggers carried this cargo to India and to the island of Madagascar near the east African coast. Early Indonesians had even established colonies in Madagascar, where Austronesian-based languages are still used today. From there the spices were transported to the east coast of Africa and on up to the Mediterranean to be sold to the Romans. Pliny the Elder mentioned this trade, making special note of the amount of cinnamon which was obtained through this route. Various spices were in great demand in the Roman empire and the Indonesian islands provided a large share of the spices that were imported there.

Accounts from Indian and Chinese merchants, monks and scholars also provide us with information about Indonesia in early times. For example Fa Hsien, an early Chinese pilgrim, stopped in Indonesia in AD 413-414 on his way back from a journey to India. He described the hardships endured on the long sea passage, when his ship sprang a leak during a storm and he and the other passengers were saved only after tossing much of the ship's cargo overboard. He also noted that there were many pirates in the Southeast Asian seas, making the journey even more dangerous. Before pressing on to China, Fa Hsien

stopped in a land that he called Ye-p'o-t'i, which scholars believe was located in Java or Kalimantan. While Buddhism was known in this land, Fa Hsien felt that few people were interested in it or knew much about it.

Other travelers soon followed. An Indian prince named Gunavarman sailed from India to Southeast Asia at about the same time as Fa Hsien made his trip. Gunavarman was also a Buddhist monk, and after stopping off in Java, he sailed on to China. Buddhism was an important religion in both India and China at this time, which explains why pilgrims made the long journey between the two countries. While some used an overland route, others increasingly sought to make the voyage by sea. This meant passing through the Straits of Melaka, which soon became controlled by the great kingdom of Srivijaya, centered on the southeastern coast of Sumatra. Srivijaya also became a center of Buddhism, and later Chinese pilgrims often stopped in Srivijaya to further their studies of Sanskrit and Buddhism before moving on to India. I-tsing was one such scholar: he stayed in Sumatra for several years in the course of his travels from China to India during the late seventh century, and he recommended that others do the same. From his account it is clear that the kingdom of Srivijaya had already developed into a major center for the study of Buddhist texts. He records that over one thousand monks were engaged in studying Buddhism in the capital of Srivijaya. I-tsing copied so many religious texts that he had to return to China to get more paper and ink (paper was probably not used then in Srivijaya, since books were written on the leaves of the lontar palm).

Imperial Chinese records also indicate that trade began to increase with Indonesia from the fifth century AD onwards. Spices such as pepper and cloves were often brought as tribute from Indonesia to China, along with camphor, sandalwood, ebony, resins, and other items. In return the Indonesians received silk, porcelain, and other Chinese goods. Meanwhile India exchanged its cotton textiles for Indonesian spices and forest products.

European accounts of Indonesia date from a later time period. Portuguese and Spanish explorers came to the region in the early sixteenth century, followed by the Dutch and the British nearly one hundred years later. Some of the records are mostly concerned with trade and navigation, but others describe the type of society that these Europeans encountered. It must be remembered that the Europeans placed their own, often incorrect,

interpretations on what they saw. The Europeans were often intolerant of or misinformed of other culture's beliefs and practices, and often characterized non-Christians as ignorant and immoral. Despite this, some European accounts can give us valuable information about the societies of that time.

In eastern Indonesia, in the fabled spice islands of Maluku, Antonio Galvao recorded a number of interesting observations about local life and customs. Galvao was the Portuguese governor of Maluku who was based on the island of Ternate from 1536 to 1540. There he noted the practice of ancestor worship and priests who performed ceremonies and communicated with the gods. Carvings of wood and stone were made to honor the spirits. Individual communities were independent of each other and people often spoke different languages from one village to the next. Important decisions were made by a council of elders, and the concept of reaching a decision by consensus was firmly in place. Knowledge and traditions were passed down by ballads and rhymes from generation to generation rather than written in books. The common people ate sago and lived in small two room houses with bare earth floors, cane-strip walls, and thatched roofs.

From all of these accounts we can gain important insights into the early history of Indonesia. Our knowledge of early trade patterns, the adoption of Buddhism, and details of village life are greatly enriched by the accounts of Indian, Chinese, and European written sources.

Weighing the Evidence

What picture can we draw of early Indonesian society? Using all the sources mentioned above we can get a good idea about some of the important aspects of Indonesian life at that time. Though details vary from island to island, some of the themes that seem to be common throughout much of the archipelago are as follows.

Early religious beliefs included a strong commitment to animism. A great reverence for all living things and for the forces of nature was evident in the belief in spirits that were thought to dwell not only in humans but in animals and the rest of the natural world as well. The continued existence of a spirit once a person died gave rise to

the desire to honor and please the spirits of deceased family members, from which ancestor worship developed. A special spiritual force could be found in certain important people and at certain important places. A person who could harness this force for him or herself could become a priest or respected leader. In time this idea was adapted as various Indian religions were brought to the islands. In the Indian religious tradition it was felt that one could harness spiritual energy through meditation and through certain ascetic practices. These ideas were adapted to local beliefs as Hinduism and then Buddhism made their way to Indonesia. While Buddhism seems not to have been very widespread in the early fifth century according to the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien, by the late seventh century it flourished as the court religion of the powerful Sumatran empire of Srivijaya. The Buddhist scholars there were so respected that the Chinese came to study with them.

Political organization seems to have originally existed in the form of a council of respected elders operating at the village level. Building consensus for any plan of action was considered very important, and everyone had the right to contribute to the discussion as well as the obligation to work for a solution that could be accepted by all. As Indian religion and philosophy were increasingly integrated into local societies, the Indian concept of the ideal king influenced local leaders as they consolidated power and developed their own kingdoms.

Social values included a respect for the elders and for ancestors. People were brought up to believe that they must help each other. This idea of mutual help and cooperation, known as *gotong-royong*, is still strong today. People of the village came together to join in the harvest or to coordinate water allocation to all the paddy fields of the area. Traditions were passed down orally from one generation to the next.

Economically, life centered around food production or trade. Rice was a major crop grown in many areas, while sago served as a staple food source in the drier areas. In some communities hunting and gathering or shifting agriculture (swidden) was the main source of food. Trade often took place between communities situated at the mouth of a river and those further upstream from them. The upstream communities could exchange their forest products for imported goods that were available from the river-mouth community as a result of their trade with foreign merchants. Gradually foreign traders

appeared more frequently along the coasts, seeking spices, rare woods, camphor, and other products. Indonesians soon were active participants in this ancient trade in luxury items. They became linked in a trading network that extended half way around the world from China to India, Arabia, and Europe. The nature of the their increasing involvement with foreign lands is described in the following section.

EARLY FOREIGN CONTACTS

The spices of Indonesia have been sought by traders from many nations. Some of the accounts of these traders have been presented above. This section will focus on providing a fuller account of Indonesia's relations with these foreign countries.

China

China is home to one of the oldest civilizations on earth. Throughout much of its history it has viewed itself as the "Middle Kingdom," an advanced society with little need to interact with the outside world. However, it has also undergone periods of territorial expansion as well as times when it has looked overseas for purposes of trade. Rulers of China have often combined the desire for foreign trade with their belief in the superior position of China by basing their foreign relations on a system of tribute. Foreign powers were expected to give lavish gifts to the Chinese emperor as a show of respect and honor, and, in some cases, to ensure Chinese protection of their kingdoms. The emperor would then present his own gifts to the foreign kings in recognition of the tribute that had just been given to him. Thus the tribute system was really a formalized way to ensure an exchange of goods between the two countries.

China's relations with the various kingdoms in Indonesia were no exception to this system. Many early Chinese records show evidence of tribute payments from Java, Sumatra and other parts of the archipelago. While the Indonesian kingdoms acknowledged the high position of the Chinese emperor, this does not mean that they were in any sense directly ruled by China. The Indonesian kings maintained their own authority over their

lands and participated in the tribute system with China as part of their foreign relations. Recognition by China as a trading partner (i.e. tribute-giving state) helped give legitimacy to the Indonesian trading ports and kingdoms, and this encouraged other foreign merchants to trade there.

While Han dynasty pottery dating from the second century AD has been found in parts of Indonesia, there are few written records of trade between China and Indonesia before the fifth century. From that point on there are increasing references to trade (in the form of tribute missions) between the two countries. The Indonesian tribute often included spices such as cloves, nutmeg, and pepper, and forest products such as sandalwood and camphor. Later, gold and tin were added to this list. In return the Chinese exchanged silken goods, copper coins, porcelain, and other luxury items. During the seventh and eighth centuries Tang dynasty records emphasize the missions sent from the Srivijayan empire located in Sumatra. The Sung dynasty (which followed the Tang and ruled during the tenth through thirteenth centuries) also records relations with the Srivijayan empire, and states that Srivijaya ruled over fifteen countries. These fifteen countries were probably smaller states in other parts of Sumatra, the west part of Java, and on the Malay peninsula. This shows how powerful the Srivijayan empire had become.

Another reason that China maintained contact with Indonesian kingdoms (and Srivijaya in particular) had to do with religion. We have already seen how several Chinese monks had visited Sumatra on their way to or from India to study Buddhism. Some Chinese also visited Java for the same purpose. For example, Hwui-ning traveled to Java in 664 to translate Buddhist texts with the Javanese scholar, Jnanabhadara. Buddhism had by this time become established both in China and on Java and Sumatra. But the source of this religion lay further to the west, and leads us to India, the source of many important cultural influences in Indonesia.

India

Whereas the relationship between Indonesia and China had primarily been based on trade and tribute, the connection between India and Indonesia was much broader. India's

religions, philosophy, and political systems provided a model which many Indonesian societies chose to adapt for their own use. India was the birthplace of two of the world's great religions, Hinduism and Buddhism. Like China, India was an ancient center of civilization, with a rich heritage and long cultural tradition. Early contact between the islands of Indonesia and India led to a long-lasting cultural association whose influences can still be seen today. In fact Indonesia's national symbol, the Garuda bird, is a mythical creature whose origins lie in Indian legend.

Indian influence came in a number of forms. It seems that merchants, priests, and other important visitors from India were encouraged to come to the Indonesian islands. This peaceful means for the introduction of Indian ideas and beliefs allowed Indonesian kingdoms to adopt a number of Indian concepts into their court. Indonesian kings were attracted to the Indian ideals of glorious and semi-divine rulers surrounded by a court of nobles and Hindu or Buddhist priests. This Indian influence is typified in the Srivijayan rulers who assumed Indian names, wrote in Sanskrit, and adopted Hinduism (and later Buddhism).

In addition to political ideas, Indian art, religion, and folklore were all adapted by the Indonesians and integrated into their existing culture. Monuments such as the great temple of Borobudur demonstrate this integration of Indian and Indonesian culture. In the temple there are hundreds of stone panels carved with pictures showing both scenes from Indonesian daily life and from the life of the Buddha. The stone carvings are based on Indian art styles, but show distinct differences which demonstrate the influence of the local artists. The tradition of *wayang* shadow-puppet plays is another example of the blending of Indian and Indonesian cultural traditions. While many of the most popular stories of the wayang come directly from Indian religion, the *dalang*, or puppet-master, has long been expected to improvise and to integrate popular Indonesian themes and concerns into his performance.

Economic ties also bound India to the Indonesian islands. Indian merchants traveled to the Straits of Melaka to purchase Indonesian spices, Chinese silk, and other luxury goods. The Indonesians in turn bought Indian textiles and goods which were

brought by the Indian traders from as far away as the Arabian peninsula. The Indonesians served as important middle-men in the trade between China and India.

Madagascar, Malaysia, and the Philippines

Though Indonesia's relations with China and India were very important, Indonesia did not limit herself to dealing exclusively with those two countries. As a people with a strong sea-faring tradition, Indonesians did not let the waters surrounding their islands isolate them from other areas. From early times people from the Indonesian archipelago made contact with other areas across the seas.

To the west, Indonesians traveled as far as Madagascar long before any Europeans made the journey across the Indian ocean. Many of Madagascar's people today are descendants of those Indonesian settlers of the island, and still speak an Austronesian-based language.

To the east, contact and trading relations were established with the Philippine islands of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. As mentioned earlier, the peoples of Indonesia and the Philippines share a common linguistic and cultural heritage. The changing political boundaries over the centuries have not stopped frequent travel and trade among the people in eastern Indonesia, Borneo, and the southern Philippines. Even today these southern areas of the Philippines maintain a distinctive tradition that sets them apart from the rest of the nation. They remain mostly Muslim, like their neighbors in Indonesia, while the rest of the Philippines is mostly Christian.

To the north, Indonesian kingdoms maintained contact with the societies that developed in the Malay peninsula and in the areas of present-day Cambodia and Vietnam. Of greatest importance was the relationship with the Malays living across the Straits of Melaka from Sumatra. In many ways, Sumatra (especially the province of Riau) and the Malay peninsula (especially the state of Johor) formed a single cultural unit, sharing the same language, religion, customs, and even rulers throughout much of their history. The Riau-Johor area that straddles the Straits of Melaka has been an enduring link between the

modern nations of Malaysia and Indonesia. It is also the home area of the Malay language that became the basis for the national languages of both countries. Only the outside influence of British and Dutch colonizers separated the two regions and ensured that they would belong to different countries. Some of the earliest evidence of links between Sumatra and the Malay peninsula dates from the first great Indonesian empire of Srivijaya.

EARLY INDONESIAN EMPIRES

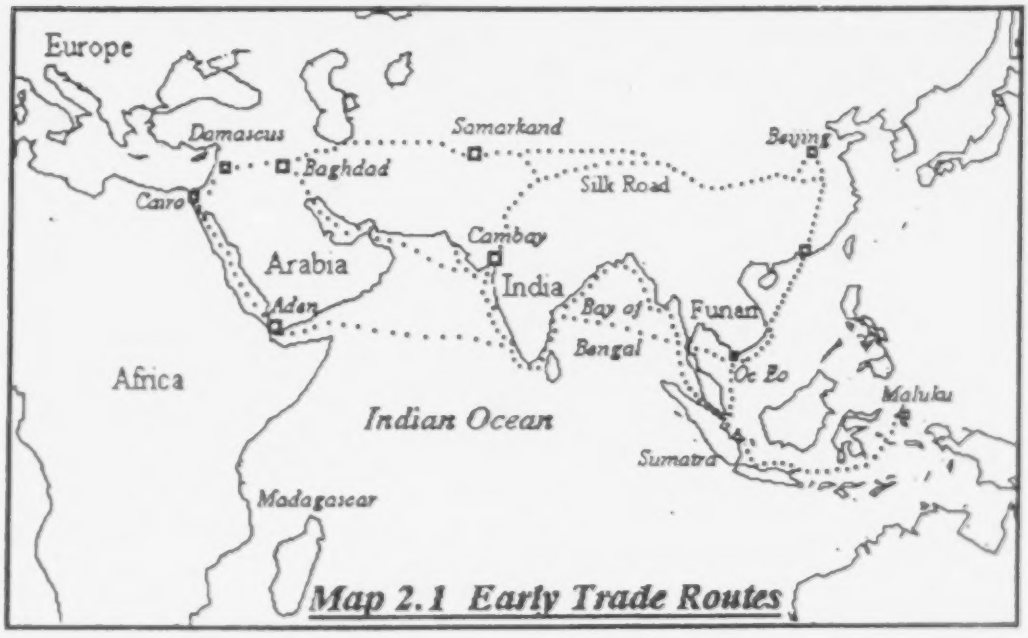
Having looked at the relations that Indonesian societies maintained with their various neighbors, it is time to more closely examine the different kingdoms that grew up within the Indonesian archipelago. All of the early great Indonesian kingdoms were built by Hindu or Buddhist kings. Because both of these religions originated in India, these early Indonesian kingdoms have been called "Indianized" states. But while Indian religion and culture influenced the Indonesian kings, these lands were independent and did not fall under Indian rule. This section will describe the empires of Srivijaya, Mataram, and Majapahit. Both the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya and the Javanese kingdom Majapahit could be said to represent a golden age in Indonesian history, when the power of the king spread from the central *kraton* (palace) across the sea to other lands and when the court became a center for literature, religious study and the arts.

Srivijaya

Srivijaya was built on trade. The thin but important line of trade that linked the Middle East, India and China was a source of great wealth to the traders who were daring enough to take part in it. Long distance trade was a risky business, and merchants had to be ready for pirates, long uncomfortable sea journeys or hard overland treks that could lead through dangerous and unfriendly lands.

Several routes were available in the early days of East-West trade. One led from the Arabian peninsula overland through Baghdad and Samarkand to Peking (Beijing). This was the Silk Route that Marco Polo was to follow centuries later. The other early route

led from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea ports by sea to the Bay of Bengal, where traders could choose to make the long overland journey north to China or continue by sea to the narrowest point of the Malay peninsula, called the Isthmus of Kra. Here they would transport their goods overland until they reached the other side of the peninsula, where they would again set sail and head for China. On this route to China they would usually stop at the port of Oc Eo which belonged to the powerful kingdom of Funan (located around the Mekong Delta area of what is now the southern part of Vietnam).

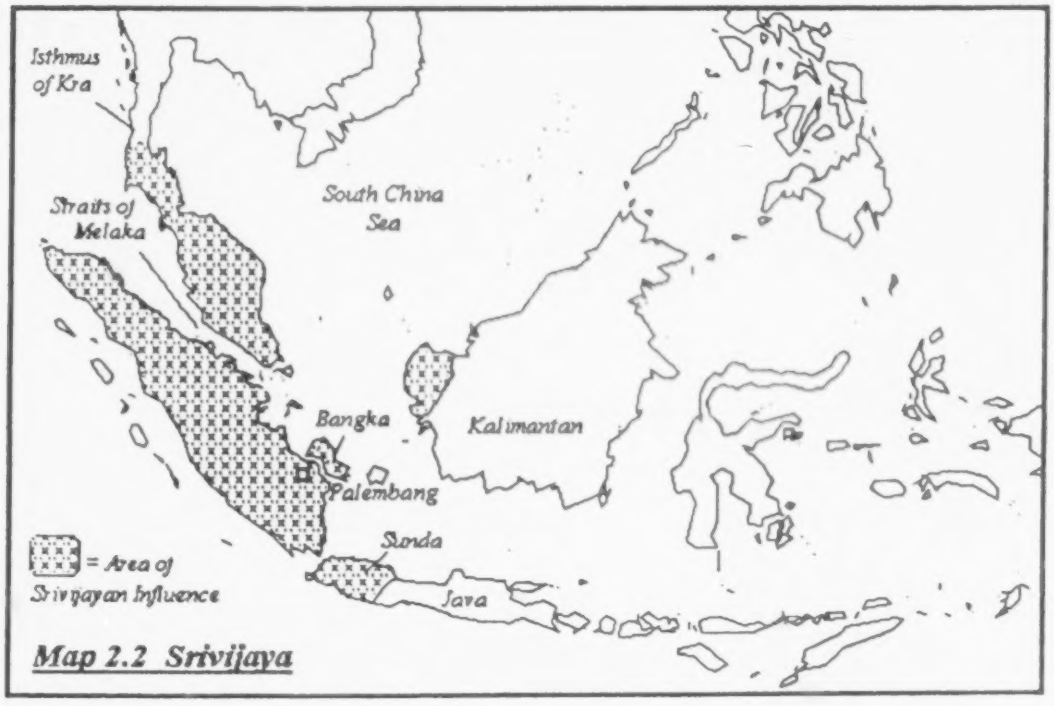


Map 2.1 Early Trade Routes

Rising in the first century AD, Funan was one of the first "Indianized" states to form in Southeast Asia, and became one of the most important trading ports in the region. For several centuries Funan was the main link between Indian and Chinese trade. But by the sixth century its power diminished and it was taken over by the kingdom of Chenla. China began to look elsewhere to conduct its trade. The Chinese were reluctant to use the old overland route through Asia, since in the fourth and early fifth centuries a Mongol invasion from the north had disrupted this route and had caused many Chinese to move

south. As they looked further south for an alternative trading port the Chinese encountered the emerging kingdom of Srivijaya.

Several factors helped make Srivijaya grow to become one of the most powerful kingdoms in Southeast Asia. With its capital of Palembang situated just up the Musi river from the Straits of Melaka, Srivijaya was in a perfect position to take advantage of the sea route linking China with India. Rather than heading for the Isthmus of Kra, traders could sail through the Straits of Melaka and avoid making the laborious overland passage across the Malay peninsula. Soon most of the China-India trade passed by the eastern coast of Sumatra, and stopped at Srivijaya on the way. Srivijaya's location close to the southern tip of Sumatra meant that it could also control ships that chose the less popular but still possible route around the western side of Sumatra and up between Java and Sumatra through the Sunda Straits.



Map 2.2 Srivijaya

Srivijaya's closeness to Java also allowed it to take part in the Java Sea trade that brought spices from the east of Indonesia to Javanese ports. These spices were eagerly

sought by both the Chinese and the Indians. By dominating the western end of this Java Sea spice trade Srivijaya managed to gain a competitive advantage over the other trading ports that had grown up in Sumatra.

Another factor that strengthened Srivijaya's power to dominate its Sumatran neighbors and attract foreign shipping was its relationship with the *orang laut*, or sea people. The *orang laut* were skillful sailors who lived in coastal communities on either side of the Straits of Melaka. Sometimes described as being more at home on sea than on land, these people were also feared for their reputation as pirates. By enlisting the cooperation of the *orang laut*, Srivijaya was able to build a strong navy for itself and control the piracy problem that might otherwise discourage foreign traders. With the *orang laut* on their side, Srivijaya had the power to force all foreign ships coming through the narrow straits to stop at Palembang to pay taxes to conduct their trade.

Srivijaya also became a favored trade center by sending tribute to the Chinese. Tang dynasty chronicles contain the first records of such tribute missions, dating from AD 670. After receiving these missions, China eventually responded by acknowledging Srivijaya as a preferred port of call. This ensured that all Chinese trade would pass through Srivijayan ports and gave Srivijaya the prestige of association with the great Chinese empire. This recognition attracted other foreign merchants to trade there as well.

As a result, Srivijaya quickly grew rich and expanded its territory. One of the first kingdoms it sought to take over was its old rival, the kingdom of Melayu on the Batang river north of Palembang. Less than twenty-five years after sending its first tribute to China, Srivijaya had conquered Melayu and many other strategic areas near the Straits of Melaka. As it grew in wealth and prestige, more and more areas came under its control, until eventually its authority spread to include most of Sumatra; the area of present-day Malaysia and Singapore; the island of Bangka (and other smaller islands in the Straits of Melaka), and Sunda (the western portion of Java).

It is hard to describe the exact limits of Srivijaya's territory, because most kingdoms in those times were not defined by precisely measured boundaries but by the amount of authority a king could command over other lower chiefs and rulers. Typically the chiefs in the territories near the king's capital would have no choice but to follow the

king's commands, including the payment of taxes or tribute, the provision of soldiers for the king's army, or the building of roads or canals. But the chiefs in the more distant areas of the kingdom might have more independence in conducting their own affairs, even though they might also acknowledge the superior position of the king and pay tribute. Thus it is more accurate to describe the limits of a kingdom by the amount of power the king had to influence people and events. This power was naturally stronger at the center of the kingdom and weaker at its farthest edges. The king of Srivijaya may have had some influence as far away as Borneo and even Sri Lanka, but the core territory was centered in Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, and western Java.

Srivijaya's wealth continued to grow. An Arab trader of the ninth century claimed that the ruler of Srivijaya was so wealthy that every day he would go to the shore and throw a gold bar into the waters as a way of acknowledging that the sea was the source of Srivijaya's prosperity. The power of each king was measured by how many gold bars could be retrieved from the sea after his death. Indians accounts of the eleventh century describe the large amount of gold in Srivijaya's royal treasury. And in the thirteenth century, when Srivijaya's power had already begun to fade, a Chinese official wrote: "from Africa and from India, from Arabia and the Spice Islands, from China and Cambodia, the royal merchant fleets of Srivijaya bring the wealth of the world."

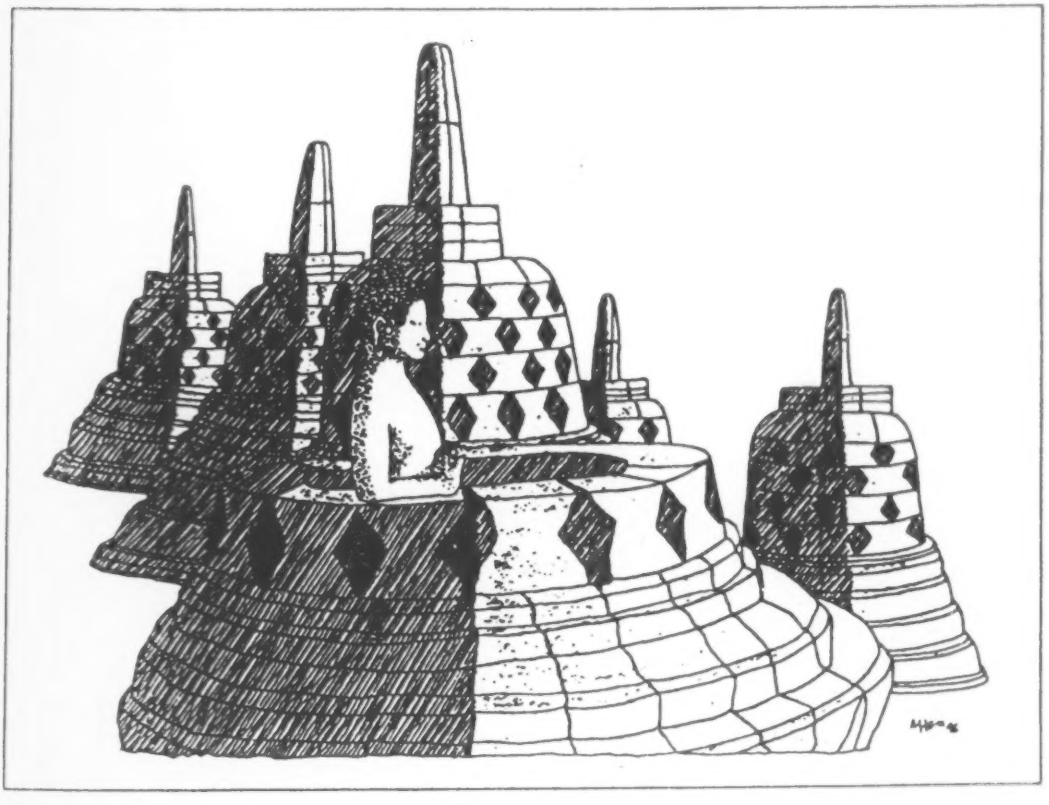
This wealth was based on Srivijaya's ability to take part in the great east-west trade that passed through the Straits of Melaka. Srivijaya maintained its part of this trade through a number of factors. It used its influence with the *orang laut* to control piracy and make the Straits safe for trading ships (of course these same *orang laut* made sure that all vessels stopped at Srivijaya on their way through the Straits: any merchants attempting to bypass Srivijaya would be pursued and attacked). The markets of Srivijaya operated on a fixed rate of exchange for all basic items and the weights used for measurement were considered fair, so merchants felt comfortable that they would not be cheated. The main port of Palembang was set up to be convenient for visiting traders, and provided storage facilities, supplies, and accommodations. Many goods were available for trade, including those from India and China as well as spices from eastern Indonesia and local woods and

resins obtained from the inland forest areas further up the river. All of these features helped make Srivijaya the main trading center of Southeast Asia.

Srivijaya continued to be a powerful trade center up to the thirteenth century. After that it was overshadowed by rival kingdoms centered in Java. While Srivijaya had always been centered in Sumatra, its rulers did at one point hold considerable power in Java. This brief but important period of history took place under the rule of the Shailendra dynasty.

Shailendra

Shailendra means "King of the Mountain," and during the late eighth century the Shailendras were kings of the mountains of Java. The Shailendras were also responsible for building one of the most amazing Buddhist temples to be found anywhere in the world. This temple is called Borobudur, and can still be visited today.



Who were the builders of this magnificent monument? We know that the Shailendra rulers were Buddhist kings who reigned over central Java from about AD 760 to approximately AD 863. (It is interesting to note that the Shailendra period in Java lasted almost exactly 100 years, for Indonesian legend has long held that a dynasty will usually last for one century before power is turned over to a new set of rulers.) The Shailendras may have had some connection with Cambodia, where the rulers of Funan had already used a name that also meant "king of the mountains." Some evidence suggests that the rulers of Cambodia paid tribute to the Javanese Shailendras.

The Shailendras had succeeded in consolidating power in central Java and had provided an environment in which Mahayana Buddhism flourished. Yet they faced competition from the rulers in east Java, and in the middle of the ninth century their power had declined to such an extent that they withdrew from Java. But this did not mean the end of the Shailendra dynasty. A young Shailendra prince named Balaputra went to Sumatra and became the king of Srivijaya. Thus the Shailendras were able to switch their home base to Sumatra. Meanwhile, in Java, the kingdom of Mataram was able to expand into the territory left behind by the departing Shailendras.

Mataram

The Mataram dynasty had actually started before the Shailendras came to power in Java. King Sanjaya had founded the dynasty and sponsored the building of the Hindu temples on the Dieng plateau in the first half of the eighth century.

Sanjaya was the first ruler of the Mataram dynasty, but after his death the Shailendras came to power in Java, bringing with them Mahayana Buddhism. But during the middle of the ninth century the descendants of Sanjaya began to challenge the rule of the Shailendras. By the beginning of the tenth century they had reasserted themselves as rulers of Java, and had built the huge Prambanan temple less than fifty kilometers from the site of the Borobudur temple. Prambanan, the largest temple complex on Java, was built as a Hindu temple, in contrast to the Buddhist temples of the Shailendra dynasty. Several

Mataram kings ruled over central Java during the early tenth century. However, under King Sindok the seat of power was moved to the east, and both the Borobudur and Prambanan temples were deserted and eventually covered with volcanic ash.

Dieng Plateau:

The Dieng plateau is situated on Mt. Prahu (2,093 meters) in central Java. The top is actually a volcanic crater that has filled up and leveled off over time: in places steaming vents and bubbling mud and waterholes still remain, and in 1979 150 villagers died from poisonous gases that escaped from underground passages.

The plateau is home to Sembungan, the village with the highest altitude in all of Java, and to the Semar Cave, believed by some to be the dwelling place of the famous character from the wayang stories, the clown-god Semar. Many small temples were built on the plateau in the early eighth century, and the area is still thought to possess spiritual power. It is said that president Suharto himself has come to meditate at the Semar Cave.

The move to the east of Java signaled the beginning of a period during which several dynasties rose and fell, each centered in a different capital. King Sindok was succeeded by his daughter, who ruled as queen, thus demonstrating that not all of Indonesia's early rulers were men. A later descendent of Sindok launched an attack against Srivijaya around AD 990. Srivijaya retaliated and early in the eleventh century seems to have had led a mission against Java that devastated the court and killed the ruling family. The historical records are scanty about what actually happened in Java, but the period from AD 1000-1016 was described as one of great chaos and confusion. The ruler who restored a sense of order in Java at this time was named Airlangga.

Airlangga was the son of a Javanese princess (the grand-daughter of King Sindok) and Udayana, the king of Bali. After the Sumatran invasion Airlangga succeeded in reuniting the kingdom of east Java. He may have been helped indirectly in this process by an Indian attack of AD 1025 on Palembang and other areas in the Straits of Melaka that dealt a serious blow to the Srivijaya dynasty. Though Srivijaya recovered from the attack, its prestige had been dealt a severe blow, and it no longer tried to threaten Java. In fact, a

Srivijayan princess later married Airlangga, thus establishing a more friendly relationship between Srivijaya and east Java.

Airlangga was known as a man of great learning and wisdom. Under his reign the arts flourished, and several important pieces of Javanese classical literature date from this period. Airlangga was also known to have great spiritual powers. In his youth he had engaged in meditation and religious learning, and he devoted himself to strengthening his moral and spiritual power during the years that he had been forced to spend in hiding before being able to gain the throne. Later, after he had become king and had restored the unity of east Java, he retired in order to further his religious studies. Before his death he divided his kingdom into two parts so that his two sons would not quarrel as to who should become king. Legend states that he sought the advice of Lord Bharada about how to split his territory. Bharada flew through the air with a jar of water, and the area where the water fell from the jar became the river Brantas, the boundary line between the two kingdoms. Kediri lay to the west of the Brantas, while Janggala lay to the east.

Kediri soon became the more powerful of these two kingdoms, and Janggala faded into insignificance. The fertile plains of the Brantas river valley provided rice for the kingdom and the increasing trade in the north Javanese ports brought wealth. Kediri remained an important kingdom for nearly two hundred years until the ruthless Ken Angrok conquered it in the mid thirteenth century. (The legend of Ken Angrok and the rulers of Singhosari has already been mentioned in a previous section.) Ken Angrok thus restored single rule to east Java and re-united the territory to the former boundaries of Airlangga's realm. Ken Angrok ruled as the head of the Singhosari kingdom from 1222 to 1227.

The last ruler of Singhosari was King Kertanagara. He was so confident of his power that when a delegation from Kublai Khan arrived asking that Singhosari pay homage to China he cut the faces of the Chinese envoys and sent the delegation back to China empty-handed. This insult resulted in a Chinese expedition that was sent to punish Kertanagara. But by the time the expedition had arrived in Java in 1293, King Kertanagara had been killed by a rival from Kediri, King Jayakatwang. The Chinese forces decided to punish this new king. They were helped by Vijaya, who was the son-in-law of Kertanagara

and also the great-grandson of Ken Angrok. Vijaya considered himself heir to the throne and saw this as a good opportunity to get rid of Jayakatwang. After Vijaya and the Chinese had succeeded in defeating Jayakatwang, Vijaya turned his army against the Chinese in a surprise attack. The Chinese retreated and Vijaya claimed the throne, starting the rule of the Majapahit empire.

Map 2.3 Early Historical Sites of Java

Majapahit

During its first fifty years the Majapahit dynasty grew in power and successfully overcame a series of revolts. After this turbulent beginning the empire blossomed into what has often been called the "golden age" of Indonesian history. In 1350 Hayam Wuruk (grandson of Vijaya) came to the throne, and under his rule Majapahit expanded its influence and developed into a center of wealth, power and prestige. Working with Hayam Wuruk was his able prime minister, Gadjah Mada. Through a series of military and diplomatic expeditions this pair was able to extend the limits of Majapahit's influence throughout Java, Bali, and Madura. Majapahit also oversaw the installation of a prince in the kingdom of Melayu in Sumatra, thus extending its influence even further afield. Court chronicles claim an even wider territory for Majapahit that includes almost all of the area of present-day Indonesia. However it is unlikely that many of these other islands were in

any way under the direct rule of Majapahit. Yet the fame of Majapahit was widespread, and Hayam Wuruk was able to maintain relations not only with many of the principalities within Indonesia but also with the kingdoms of China, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand.

The court chronicles that describe the kingdom of Majapahit contain elaborate descriptions of the hunting parties of the king, the great number and beauty of the king's many wives, and the great tribute sent to the king by his loyal followers. While the king enjoyed these privileges, his trusted prime minister maintained order in the land, and laid down a set of rules of administration. The capital of Majapahit grew into an imposing city, with high brick walls surrounding it and many pavilions, plazas, and courtyards inside.

The glory of Majapahit lasted only about a hundred years (just as had the reign of the Javanese Shailendras). Gadjah Mada died in 1364. So great were his contributions to the empire that one of modern Indonesia's best universities is named after him. Hayam Wuruk maintained his position as king, but after his death in 1389 the influence of Majapahit faded quickly. In its place a new force came to be felt in Java and the other islands of Indonesia. Muslim merchants played an increasingly important role in the inter-island trade throughout the archipelago, and with them came the development of new centers of power in which Islam, not Hinduism or Buddhism, was the main religion.

EXERCISES:

I Multiple Choice: Choose the best answer to the following questions.

1) The early Chinese travellers Fa Hsien and I-tsing both mentioned the presence of this religion in Indonesia:

a) Islam
b) Christianity
c) Buddhism
d) Shintoism

2) All of the following products from China were exchanged for Indonesian goods except:

a) porcelain
b) silk
c) nutmeg
d) copper coins

3) Indonesia borrowed elements of which of the following items from India

a) religion
b) language
c) art
d) all of the above

4) Indonesians were involved in long distance trade with other societies

a) as early as 2,000 years ago
b) only during the glory days of the Majapahit empire
c) starting about 200 years ago
d) Indonesians were never involved in such trade.

5) The Chinese viewed the Indonesian kingdom of Srivijaya as a

a) good place to study Buddhism
b) a source of items for trade
c) center of production of porcelain
d) a and b

6) The Riau-Johor area formed a link between parts of the following two countries:

a) Indonesia and the Philippines
c) Indonesia and Brunei
b) Indonesia and India
d) Indonesia and Malaysia

7) The Srivijayan empire was centered in

a) Java
c) Sumatra
b) Bali
d) Sunda

8) The great Buddhist temple of Borobudur was built during the reign of the

a) Majapahit dynasty
c) Shailendra dynasty
b) Mataram dynasty
d) kingdom of Funan

9) King Airlangga is generally regarded as

a) a wise ruler who restored order to eastern Java
c) the person responsible for expanding the Javanese empire to include all of Bali and Sumatra
b) a ruthless and aggressive leader who ruled by threat of force
d) b and c

10) The golden age of the Majapahit empire is associated with the rule of

a) Ken Angrok
c) King Vijaya
b) Hayam Wuruk
d) King Kertanagara

I Fill in the blanks:

1) Most languages spoken in Indonesia belong to the _____ language family.

2) The belief system claiming that all things possess a spirit or life-force is called _____.

3) The legend of _____, who used a special kris to kill a rival and become king, provides some information about the rulers of Singhosari.

4) Linguistic evidence confirms that long ago Indonesian traders travelled to _____, an island off the coast of Africa.

5) Antonio Galvao, a Portuguese Governor of Maluku during the mid sixteenth century, recorded observations about local life and customs on the important eastern Indonesian island of _____.

6) Early Chinese trade with Indonesia was often based on the system of _____, in which gifts were given to the Chinese leaders in exchange for protection and Chinese trade goods.

7) Some inscriptions from the kingdom of Srivijaya were written in the Indian language called _____.

8) Srivijaya's location next to the _____, an important trade route that allowed merchants to sail from China to India, was an important factor in the Sumatran kingdom's rise to power.

9) The rulers of central Java during the late 8th and early 9th century were known as the _____, whose name means "King of the Mountain."

10) The kingdom of _____ was the most important kingdom of east Java between the fall of Kediri in the mid thirteenth century and the rise of the Majapahit dynasty near the start of the fourteenth century.

III Match the Columns:

In the blank space by each number in the left hand column write the letter of the item from the right hand column that provides the best description.

1) _ Wajak Man	A) An important Javanese chronicle from the mid fourteenth century describing court life in the Majapahit dynasty.
2) _ Nagarakertagama	B) Known as "sea people," this group of sailors was crucial in allowing Srivijaya to gain control of the Straits of Melaka
3) _ Wayang	C) Reigning over central Java for about 100 years, this dynasty is best known for its legacy of important Buddhist monuments
4) _ Srivijaya	D) An early example of Homo sapiens that lived in Java 12,000 - 13,000 years ago
5) _ Orang Laut	E) Prime Minister under Hayam Wuruk during the height of the Majapahit empire and known as an excellent administrator and leader of state, one of Indonesia's finest universities is named after him.
6) _ Shailendra	F) The more important of the two kingdoms that arose when Airlangga divided his kingdom between his two sons. Later conquored by Ken Angrok.
7) _ Mataram	G) The last king of Singhosari, he dared to defy Kublai Khan, which led to a Chinese military expedition to Java in 1293.
8) _ Kediri	H) A mighty empire with its capital in Palembang that dominated Indonesia's international trade for centuries.
9) _ Kertanagara	I) Originally founded by King Sanjaya, this dynasty sponsored the construction of the great Hindu temple of Prambanan.
10) _ Gadjah Mada	J) The shadow puppet play, often using plots based on Indian religious traditions.

IV Creative Writing:

1) In the late 13th century Marco Polo travelled with his father and uncle to China, where he was to stay for 17 years. During this time he served in the court of Kublai Khan and visited many areas in Asia that paid tribute to China. In 1292 he spent several months in Sumatra, thus becomming the first European to visit Indonesia.

   Imagine that you are Marco Polo. Write and entry in your journal describing your trip from China to Sumatra. Give examples of the type of trade that existed between the two areas. Include another entry for events from the next year, 1293, detailing what you have heard of the Chinese involvement in the affairs of the Javanese kings Kertanagara, Jayakatwang, and Vijaya.

2) You are an anthropologist doing fieldwork with the Sakuddei. Describe your observations of the daily life and the beliefs of these people.

V Interpreting History: (Your teacher may assign this as a group project.)

This chapter described some of the sources available to historians. Historians must sift through all relevant evidence and put together their own version and interpretaion of events.

To gain experience in this process, write your own brief history of an event. Choose a major event such as a legal dispute or trial, an important piece of legislation, an assasination or murder case, or an international incident. Gather information on this event from at least two of the following sources:

* a textbook or encyclopedia
* magaazine or newspaper articles from the time of the event
* interviews with at least two people who remember the event
* documentary program (video)

A) Write your own notes summarizing the information from each of the sources that you use.

B) Write a one or two page history of the event.

C) Review your notes and sources and write a one or two page essay explaining why you included or excluded certain information from your official history. Give your evaluation of the reliability of each source. Did you have any bias (positive or negative) about the case? Did this affect your presentation? Can history ever be complete and objective?

D) Submit your notes, your history paper, and your evaluation essay.

VI Essay Topics:

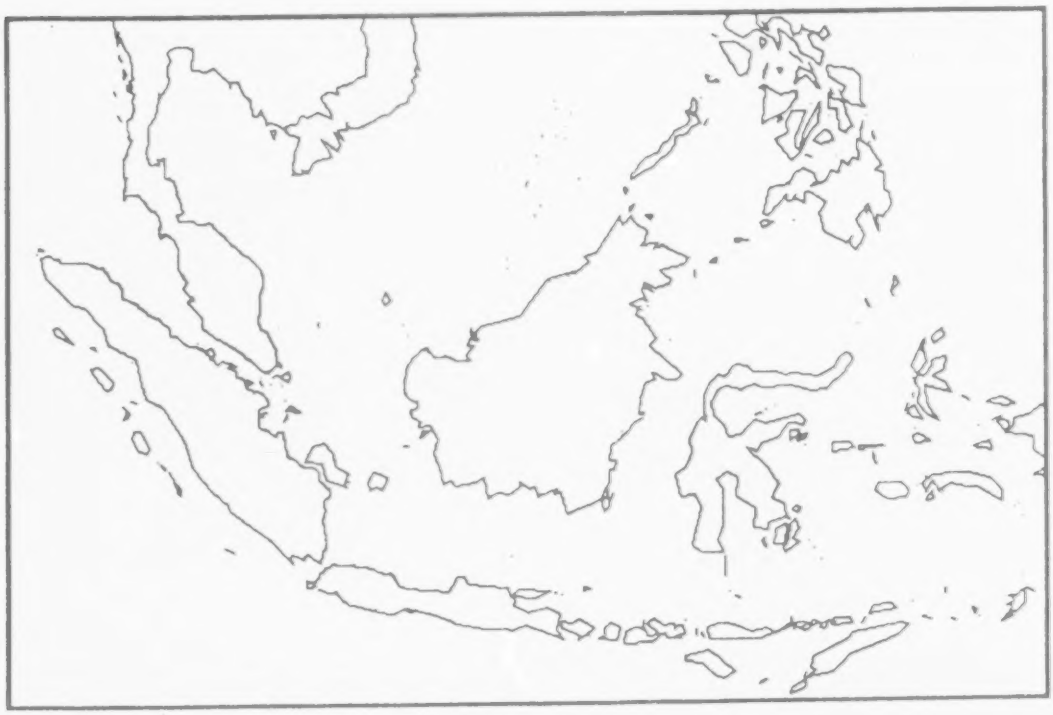
1) Summarize the different types of sources available for the study of early Indonesian history. Describe which type (or types) of sources you would emphasize if you were writing a history of Indonesia and explain the reasons your choice.

2) Compare and contrast the kingdoms of Srivijaya and Majapahit.

VII Map Knowledge:

On the map below, identify and label the following:

1) The capital of the Srivijayan empire (name the city)
2) The site of the famous Buddhist monument built by the Shailendras (name the site)
3) The center of Ken Angrok's kingdom (name the kingdom)
4) The Sunda region of Java
5) The island of Bangka
6) The Bay of Bengal
7) The Isthmus of Kra
8) The South China Sea
9) The Straits of Melaka
10) The capital of Funan (name the city)



CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPICE TRADE AND THE COMING OF ISLAM

With the fading of the Majapahit empire the islands of Indonesia once more began to develop on independent paths. It is important to remember that "Indonesia" as a united country with distinct boundaries and a single government simply did not exist during the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. Instead there were many independent kingdoms and sultanates, which were sometimes at peace and sometimes at war with each other. This was the same type of situation that existed in many European areas at that time. For example, what are now the independent countries of Germany, Italy and the Netherlands used to consist of many smaller territories each ruled by princes, dukes, kings, or other heads of state.

The Rise of Melaka

As the power of the Majapahit empire diminished, a new center of influence arose. Legend states that a prince from Palembang (the old center of the Srivijayan empire) left Sumatra and established a new city on the other side of the Straits of Melaka. Around the year AD 1400 this prince, whose name was Parameswara, founded the city that came to be known as Melaka. Located on the Malaysian peninsula, Melaka had a good port and, just like Palembang before it, was well situated to take advantage of the trading ships that passed through the straits.

When Parameswara came to Melaka, he found little more than a sleepy fishing town. But along the coast there were many groups of orang laut, the sea people, who often engaged in piracy by preying on passing ships. By enlisting these orang laut on his

side, Parameswara quickly developed a powerful naval force that could force passing ships to come to his port and pay customs fees.

Initially the passing trade ships may have been forced to stop in Melaka, but the merchants aboard these vessels soon realized that there were advantages to making voluntary visits there. Melaka had developed good facilities for the traders, including warehouses, lodging, and officials that provided fair and efficient administration. Melaka was situated close to the pepper-producing island of Sumatra and within easy access of Java. It was also a convenient midway point between India and China. Soon Melaka became a major international trade center.

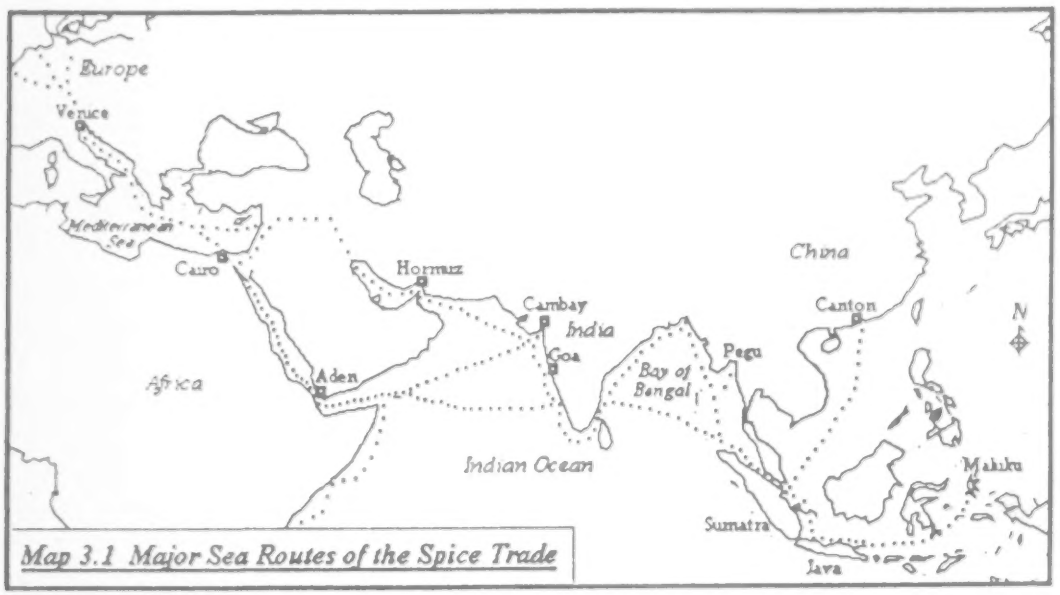
To safeguard their success, the rulers of Melaka kept close control of the nearby waters. They also sought protection against the powerful Thai kings who controlled much of the Malay peninsula. To balance this Thai threat they sent missions to China to obtain the goodwill and protection of the Ming emperors. The Chinese were even more powerful than the Thai, and received recognition from many of the Southeast Asian states. The Chinese allowed Melaka to retain its independent operation as a successful trade center in exchange for missions of tribute. These missions were sent to the Chinese court in Beijing on a regular basis. Precious gifts were presented to the emperor, who demonstrated his wealth and power by giving his own lavish presents in return to the Melakan rulers. This system of mutual gift giving was really a form of trade which worked to the advantage of both sides.

The success of Melaka depended largely on its ability to take advantage of its strategic location along one of the world's major trade routes. A whole network of trade linked Europe, Arabia, India, Southeast Asia, and China in a complex web of commerce.

The World of Southeast Asian Trade

Melaka served as one of the central exchange points for a trade network that extended as far west as India, Arabia, and Europe and as far east as China. Arab traders exchanged goods with European merchants, especially those from Venice. Metals, glass, beads, woolen cloths, and dyes were brought from Europe to the Middle East. The Arabs

brought these European goods to Aden, Hormuz, and Cambay (on the northwestern coast of India) along with their own gold, rosewater, pearls, and carpets. Indian traders would obtain these products from the Arabs in exchange for spices, resins, and other items brought back from Indonesia. The Indians obtained Indonesian goods largely in exchange for their own high quality Indian textiles. The Chinese also purchased Indonesian goods, and financed this through sale of their silks, brocades, iron, and porcelain, as well as copper coins. Melaka was the central meeting ground where the Indian, Chinese, and Indonesian merchants met to exchange wares. Chinese and Indian goods would then be brought back to Indonesian ports where they were bartered for spices, foods (including rice), resins, fragrant woods, camphor, horses, and other items.



Map 3.1 Major Sea Routes of the Spice Trade

Though Melaka had virtually no products of its own to sell, it was well suited as a meeting ground for the Arab, Indian, Chinese, and Indonesian merchants. The rulers of Melaka established a well ordered commercial center with all the necessary facilities for international trade. Additionally, Melaka was geographically situated as an approximate midpoint between China and India. The monsoon winds provided regular seasons for sea travel to and from Southeast Asia, and Melaka was as far as the merchants from India and

China could sail in one season. Because Melaka was the final port of call for these foreign traders at the end of the monsoon winds, the islands of Indonesia, lying just to the south, were called "the lands below the wind."

Sumatra was especially known as a producer of pepper, as well as a source for resins, honey, ivory, and gold. Borneo was another producer of forest products, such as honey, wax, rattan, and camphor. Java was a major rice producer, and also was a source of pepper, tamarind, and local textiles. Further east, the Lesser Sunda Islands were known for their own local types of cloth as well as for horses (Sumba) and sandalwood (Timor). The spice islands of Maluku were the producers of mace, nutmeg, and cloves.

Nutmeg:
Myristica fragrans

Nutmeg and mace come from the same plant. The seeds of the plant are what we call nutmeg, while the lacy flesh surrounding these seeds is mace. Both parts are used as seasonings.

To help coordinate all this trade each major trading port usually had a "shahbandar". His job was to take care of all the ships that entered the harbor. He would greet the captain of each ship that arrived and help arrange for the crew's lodging. He would also supervise the unloading of the cargo and would help arrange temporary storage facilities. Another of his duties was to ensure that the proper customs duties were paid based on the value of the cargo. In short, the shahbandar helped arrange all the

logistical details to make sure that visiting merchants could trade with ease in an orderly fashion.

Melaka's importance as a trade center was reflected in the fact that it had not one but four shahbandars. One dealt with the Gujerati traders of India. A second was assigned to merchants from other areas of India as well as those from Burma and the north of Sumatra. A third helped the Chinese traders while the fourth served the Indonesian merchants from southern Sumatra, Java, and all the islands further to the east.

The division of duties among Melaka's four shahbandars reflected the division of the main trade routes that passed through Melaka. One line of trade extended from Melaka to Burma, Bengal, and the rest of eastern India while an even longer line extended to the west coast of India and on to the Straits of Hormuz on the Arabian peninsula. In the opposite direction trading relations existed between Melaka and China. Melaka and the spice islands of Maluku formed another network of trade, with stops on the north coast of Java, southern Sulawesi, and some of the smaller eastern islands between these two end points.

In addition to these four major shipping routes there were extensive trading networks within Indonesia. Borneo traded with Java and Melaka, and sometimes directly with the Chinese. The Minangkabau of central Sumatra also brought goods to Melaka. The Bugis of southern Sulawesi were well known as a seafaring peoples, and actively engaged in trade along the spice route from eastern Indonesia to Melaka.

These trade routes allowed buyers and sellers from all over Asia to meet and come into contact with one another. This contact eventually helped to spread certain elements of culture in addition to the exchange of trade items. Especially important in the history of Indonesia was the increase in the use of the Malay language and spread of the Islamic religion.

The Spread of Malay

The Malay language was used by the native population on much of the Malay peninsula, including the port of Melaka. It was also used, with some local variations, on

the east coast of Sumatra. In fact some of the oldest written examples of early Malay come from stone inscriptions found near Palembang dating from AD 683-686. Malay seems to have been used by the people Srivijaya, and this empire's extensive trade contacts served to extend the range of Malay to other trading ports of the region. With the rise of the port of Melaka, this process was repeated and expanded.

The trade route from Melaka to Maluku was usually traveled by Malay or Javanese merchants who would stop from port to port, exchanging goods along the way. For example, Indian fabric purchased in Melaka might be sold in Java for rice or in the Lesser Sunda islands for locally made cloth. As a string of trading ports developed on the north coast of Java and along the eastern islands leading to Maluku, sailors, traders, and local residents in these areas relied more and more on the use of Malay to communicate with each other.

Malay was also a widely used language among the group of Indonesians who had adopted Islam. It provided a unity among the various Indonesian Muslims who came from different parts of the archipelago, such as Aceh, Melaka, the north coast of Java, or Makassar. Religious teachings written in Malay could be shared and were widely understood within this Muslim community. As Islam spread across the archipelago, the Malay language became even more commonly used.

The Spread of Islam

Islam had been present in a few parts of Indonesia as early as the thirteenth century. When Marco Polo visited Sumatra in 1292 he noticed that the northern town of Perlak was already inhabited by Muslims. Approximately fifty years later the Arab traveler Ibn Battuta also visited the northern part of Sumatra, and found that the ruler of Samudra was a Muslim. However, most of Indonesia at this time was still under Hindu-Buddhist rule. Up until the end of the fourteenth century only a few pockets of Islam seem to have existed, and Sumatra and Java were the only areas of Indonesia to have had an active Muslim presence. By the fifteenth century this began to change.

Teachings of Islam

Islam is one of the major world religions. Along with Judaism and Christianity, Islam is a monotheistic religion, (meaning that it teaches a belief in only one supreme God). In fact, Islamic stories also feature some of the same characters that appear in other faiths. For example, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Ishmael, Solomon, and Jacob all appear in the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam. Islam maintains that there have been a number of prophets who have appeared on earth, and acknowledges Jesus as one of these prophets. However Mohammed is viewed as the last prophet, the one who received God's true teachings. At the most basic level, all one must do to adopt the Islamic faith is to repeat that "there is only one God, and Mohammed is his messenger."

This declaration of faith in one God and the belief that Mohammad was his prophet is the single most basic guiding principle in Islam. It is followed by the "five pillars of Islam." These five requirements guide many aspects of the Muslim's life, from activities that are repeated many times a day to special journeys that may happen only once in a lifetime. The "five pillars" require that one pray five times a day, give alms to the poor, refrain from eating pork and drinking alcohol, fast from dawn to dusk during the month of Ramadan, and, if possible, make a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca at least once in one's life.

Mohammed was born in Mecca (in what is now Saudi Arabia) around the year AD 569. He eventually became a merchant, married and raised a family, and devoted time to religious contemplation and meditation. According to tradition, he received a revelation while meditating in a cave on Mount Hira. There the archangel Gabriel appeared before him and revealed to him the word of God. These teachings of God were collected and formed the basis for the holy book of Islam, the Quran. It is important to note that Mohammed did not claim to be God or ask to be worshipped. To this day, Muslims do not worship Mohammed, but rather regard him as a prophet. To the Muslims there is only one God, who is known by the Arabic name of Allah.

After Mohammed received his revelation in AD 610 he started to spread the word by giving sermons. Soon he had many followers, and by the time of his death he had established a community of believers who carried on his teachings. The religion of Islam spread quickly: 150 years after Mohammed's revelation Islam had established itself throughout Persia, the Middle East, North Africa, and even into Spain and Portugal. Later the religion spread to the Indian subcontinent and from there it eventually reached Indonesia.

The rise of Melaka during the fifteenth century provided a major push in the expansion of Islam throughout the archipelago. Melaka was founded by a Hindu-Buddhist king, Parameswara, but exposure to foreign Muslim traders soon helped change the

official religion to Islam. The Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Chronicles, maintains that Islam came to Melaka when its third king, Raja Tengah, had a dream. In the dream Raja Tengah was instructed in Islamic ritual and the Arabic language, and foresaw the arrival of a holy man from across the sea. The next day a Muslim holy man arrived, and the king embraced Islam and made the holy man his teacher. The king changed his name to Muhammad Shah and the rest of the court also adopted Islam. While most historians do not doubt that Muhammad Shah was indeed a Muslim, one theory suggests that Islam may have become the official religion at an even earlier date, and that the first king of Melaka, Parameswara, may have himself converted to Islam toward the end of his rule.

Regardless of the exact year that the ruler of Melaka adopted Islam, it is certain that Islam was quickly accepted soon after Melaka became a major trading port. This conversion probably helped make Melaka even more popular as a trading port, for most of the Arabs and Indians were Muslim and even some of the Chinese had adopted this faith. Muslim traders were happy to do business in an area hospitable to their own kind, where mosques were available and where Muslim customs were practiced.

As Melaka became increasingly important as a hub for international trade, the Muslim community grew and spread outward along the major trade routes through the archipelago. The spice trade that existed from Melaka across the north of Java and on eastward to Maluku became a major avenue for the spread of Islam. In 1477 Demak became one of the first major north Javanese coast (pasisir) ports to officially adopt Islam. Soon many of the other pasisir trading ports such as Cirebon, Surabaya, and Gresik also converted to Islam. Even the spice islands themselves were exposed to Islam, and the rulers of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan had all adopted Islam by the end of the fifteenth century.

The new religion of Islam was often first adopted at the major contact points along the trade route. Individual rulers of the north Javanese trading ports may have found that adoption of the new faith brought increased prosperity by encouraging other Muslim traders to come to their ports. Islam was seen as a powerful and dynamic force whose popularity was rapidly expanding. Thus the rulers of the ports may have felt that

converting to Islam would allow them to take part in this new power and add to their own influence.

Once the ruler had decided to convert to Islam, the ordinary citizens of the area would usually follow his example, although the process could take some time. Naturally there were different levels of interest and adaptation to the new religion. Some adopted Islam wholeheartedly and followed the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed very closely. Others followed a looser interpretation of Islam that allowed them to continue to retain some of their old religious or spiritual beliefs.

Some historians have suggested that in Java there were three broad categories that could be seen within the Muslim community. The santri tended to be the group that was most concerned with understanding and following all the elements of Islam. These were the people who prayed five times a day, went to the mosque on Friday, and sent their children to Islamic schools to learn how to read Arabic script and recite the Quran. The santri were more strict in their observance of Islamic teachings. Many of the traders of the northern Javanese trading ports were included in this category.

In contrast to the santri, there also were Javanese who retained some of their original animistic or Hindu-influenced beliefs. These people were called abangan, and were often found among the farms and villages of inland areas. They still called themselves Muslims, but were not so strict in their interpretation of the Islamic teachings. Among this group there was a strong belief in spirits and an attraction to the Hindu gods and goddesses which was maintained after conversion to Islam. For example, in case of illness, a member of the abangan category would probably consult a dukun, or spirit doctor. The role of the dukun predates Islamic times in Indonesia and relies on a belief in the power of magic and the forces of spirits and supernatural beings. After the introduction of Islam some dukuns incorporated Islamic elements into their treatments, but they would not be considered orthodox by the santri. The abangan group consisted mostly of Javanese from the inland regions away from the north coast.

A third group, known as the priyayi, evolved from within the Javanese nobility. Heavily influenced by the Hindu-era achievements in the areas of philosophy, artistic refinement, and social etiquette, the priyayi converted to Islam but were less likely to be as

strict in their interpretation of Islamic principles as were the santri. However, as the heirs to the Hindu-Buddhist legacy of the Javanese aristocracy, the priyayi were less likely than the abangan to practice animistic beliefs and rituals. In short, the priyayi could be defined largely as members of an upper social class whose belief in Islam was balanced by an interest in maintaining a lifestyle and culture that had evolved under Hindu rule.

Influence from these three groups may still be seen in Java today. While the overwhelming majority of the population is Muslim, there is still a large degree of variation in how strictly the religious teachings of Islam are interpreted and practiced. As in other parts of Indonesia, some cultural components from the Hindu era continue to be very popular, such as the stories of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as depicted in wayang, or shadow puppet shows.

The World of Indonesia in the Sixteenth Century

As the influence of Islam continued to grow in the archipelago, several kingdoms emerged as centers of power. Some of the more well known areas of Indonesia that were continuing to develop at this time include Aceh, Java, Bali, Sulawesi, and Maluku. While historical sources remain scarce for many of these areas during the sixteenth century, it is possible to reconstruct some of the more important developments.

Aceh was one of the earlier parts of Indonesia to convert to Islam. During the second half of the fifteenth century Aceh had accepted this new religion, and by the sixteenth century it had begun to extend its influence from its position on the northernmost tip of Sumatra further to the south. Gradually it brought neighboring areas under its control, including Deli, Pedir, and Pasai. These conquests helped to spread Islam at the same time as Aceh's territory expanded. By the end of the sixteenth century Aceh had control over much of the pepper producing area of Sumatra, bringing it wealth and influence as trade in pepper and other spices continued to grow.

In Java several kingdoms grew in importance. Along the northern coast, or pasisir, were the kingdoms of Demak, Jepara, Tuban, and Gresik. These northern kingdoms were quick to adapt to outside events, perhaps because they were situated on the coast where

contact with foreigners was more frequent and because they were often involved in trading networks which extended far beyond the Java Sea. These northern kingdoms were among the first areas of Java to accept Islam.

Map 3.2 Pasisir (North Coast) Java

Of these northern ports Demak was at first the most important. It was able to expand and take over the inland kingdom of Kediri, which was the last remnant of the Majapahit empire. Demak's king, Raden Patah, provided the initial power for this territorial expansion. He reigned from around AD 1500 - 1518 and was responsible for capturing the pusaka, or royal heirlooms, of the Majapahit kingdom. In the tradition of Java, the pusaka of a kingdom contain great amounts of power, and anyone who owns the pusaka may inherit their special force. Upon his death in 1518, Raden Patah was succeeded by his son, Pati Unus, who had been responsible for a large but unsuccessful attack in 1512 against the Portuguese in Melaka.

Pati Unus only reigned for three years, after which his brother, Tranggana, assumed the throne. Assisting Tranggana was Sunan Gunung Jati, a powerful man who extended the territory of Demak far to the west. Sunan Gunung Jati captured Banten and Cirebon from the Sundanese Hindu empire of Pajajaran. Gunung Jati ruled over Banten while one of his sons ruled in Ceribon. Gunung Jati also captured Sunda Kelapa, the site of present day Jakarta, from the Pajajaran empire. While Gunung Jati was busy gaining territory in the west of Java, Tranggana was doing the same in the central and eastern parts of Java. But in 1546 Tranggana died in an unsuccessful military campaign, and the

heyday of Demak's power was at an end. By the second half of the sixteenth century, Demak's importance had dwindled.

As Demak's power faded, the nearby city of Jepara grew in influence, particularly under the reign of Queen Kalinyamat. One of her most ambitious undertakings was an assault on Melaka in 1551, which was then under Portuguese control. Though this attack and a later siege of Melaka in 1574 proved unsuccessful, the fact that it was able to challenge the Portuguese authority showed that Jepara could control considerable military power. This power depended largely on its ability to operate a large naval force. Jepara was noted for its ship-building and aside from being able to produce ships of war it also built trade ships capable of transporting up to 400 tons of rice.

Gresik was another of the northern ports that grew in importance at this time. Gresik had been an important international trading center as early as the fifteenth century. Later, in the sixteenth century, a Portuguese observer was so impressed by its wealth that he called it "the jewel of Java." Gresik and Surabaya developed into major trading ports that took advantage of the busy shipping lanes transporting spices and other goods between Melaka and eastern Indonesia.

In central Java the kingdom of Mataram re-emerged to once again take over the role of the major inland kingdom, and named itself the successor to Majapahit. According to legend, Senapati was the founder of this new dynasty of Mataram. Senapati's life is surrounded by myth: according to ancient tales Senapati was supported by Nyai Loro Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean. Tradition states that Nyai Loro Kidul was a princess who refused to marry the man that her father had chosen for her. For this defiant act she was transformed by her father's curse into a spirit who was banished to live under the sea. Here she ruled as queen of the Indian ocean from her underwater palace. Senapati spent three days with her, after which the goddess promised to support him with her spirit army. Senapati then proceeded to expand the territory of Mataram with a series of military encounters. From this time the Mataram dynasty is said to have retained the special protection of Nyai Loro Kidul.

In the western portion of Java, Banten maintained its position as a powerful Islamic kingdom with ties to the pepper-producing areas across the straits in southern

102

Sumatra. For some time the neighboring kingdom of Pajajaran continued as the Hindu-Buddhist stronghold of the Sundanese in the area south of present-day Jakarta. But in 1579 Pajajaran was conquered by Banten, signaling the end of the major Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in Java.

While more areas of Java were converting to Islam, Bali maintained its Hindu way of life. Indeed, many Hindu princes, philosophers, artists, and others from the courts of Java who were displaced by Muslim rule came to Bali to seek refuge, and helped contribute to a flowering of Hindu Balinese court life. Bali became a safe haven for what was left of the great Hindu empires of Java. While Bali maintained a rich cultural heritage and became famous as a land of great artistic achievement, it was not a major producer in the spice trade. This was in some ways an advantage to Bali, for it meant that foreign powers were slow to interfere with it. Not until the nineteenth century were there major disturbances caused by European intrusions.

Sulawesi became important as a trade center, and served as an alternate place of business for some of the merchants who left Melaka after its fall to the Portuguese. In the southern part of Sulawesi there existed two major ethnic groups, the Makassarese and the Bugis. Both were well known for being daring warriors and skilled sailors. They were also quick to seize the opportunity to study the weapons and the tactics of the Portuguese in order to increase their own military power. The two groups were rivals within Sulawesi, with the Makassarese centered in Gowa and the Bugis centered in Bone. During the sixteenth century the Makassarese managed to become the dominant force throughout southern Sulawesi.

Maluku was the heart of the spice-producing region of Indonesia. The area of Maluku includes many different islands, including those which were the original home of cloves, nutmeg, and mace. The fact that these three spices were grown nowhere else in the world gave Maluku a very important monopoly of one part of the profitable spice trade. The two most important islands of this area were the rival kingdoms of Ternate and Tidore. While these two islands are quite small, they were major centers of influence within eastern Indonesia, and most of the surrounding islands were allied to one of the two. The kings of both islands kept fleets of kora-kora war boats (large outrigger craft

powered by as many as 100 rowers) to maintain their power. Both Ternate and Tidore had converted to Islam before AD 1500, but some other islands of the region maintained their traditional spirit-based beliefs.

Cloves:
Eugenia caryophyllus or aromatica

Cloves grow on trees of the Myrtaceae family. The buds are picked while small and laid out to dry in the sun. Oil can be extracted from cloves and used for medicinal purposes.

The staple food in this region was sago. Rice had to be imported, and was usually only eaten by those at the court. The cloves of Ternate and Tidore were exchanged for rice, cotton cloth, and other goods that were brought in by Javanese traders. Spices, sago, forest products, weapons, and local textiles were all trade items from within eastern Indonesia that were exchanged for one another or for rice, silk, porcelain, and other items that were brought in from outside the region. For foreign traders the main lure of Maluku was the opportunity to obtain rare and valuable spices. Indeed, the purpose of Magellan's famous journey (which was the first to sail all the way around the globe) was to "discover the spicery in the islands of Maluco."

European Participation in the Asian Trade Routes

While Islam was still spreading through the archipelago a new force appeared that would influence the development of the area. Just as the Chinese and Indians had already played a role in shaping some of the events in the Southeast Asian region, so too did the European explorers and traders now begin to play a part in the foreign and domestic affairs of various Indonesian kingdoms.

In the early sixteenth century the Southeast Asian trade network was flourishing: Melaka was at the height of its power, Aceh was emerging as a major port on the northern tip of Sumatra, the pasisir ports of Java were expanding their influence, and the eastern islands of Tidore and Ternate were maintaining their position as the dominant forces in Maluku. Into this thriving web of trade came an expedition from half way around the world. In 1509 the first Portuguese ships sailed into Melaka. The local traders had never seen Europeans before, so they called the Portuguese "white Bengalis".

What caused the Portuguese to arrive in Melaka at that moment in time? The answer involves an explanation of some of the economic, scientific, and religious developments that were taking place in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Economic Motives:

Europe had long been involved in one part of the spice trade that originated in Maluku. But Europe was at the very other end of the spice route, and was the last link in a long chain of trade stations that stretched westwards from Asia. Most spice entered the European market at Venice, which served as a central distribution point for the further sale of spices throughout Europe. The merchants of Venice obtained the spices from Arab merchants who acted as middlemen. These Arabs had probably bought the spices in Cambay from Indian merchants who had purchased them in Melaka. The Melakan traders in turn had bought the spices from Javanese traders who had traveled to Maluku to get them. With so many different people buying and selling along the way, it is no wonder that

the final price of spices was extremely high by the time they had reached the European market. If a European trader could get to Maluku directly to buy the spices, the price would be much cheaper, and therefore the profit that could be obtained would be much greater.

Pepper:
Piper nigrum

Pepper grows on long vines that climb and wrap around other plants. The berries grow in bunches, and are picked before they are ripe. They are then dried in the sun to become the familiar black peppercorns that we use for seasoning.

It is clear that the European spice seller could make a much larger profit if he could eliminate the middlemen involved in the supply of spices. But why were the Europeans who bought the spices willing to pay such high prices anyway? While we often think of spices as an optional extra to add a little flair to cooking, the early Europeans had a much greater practical use for spices.

In the days before refrigeration, meat could only be preserved by drying, smoking, or curing it with spices. Spices were especially important in the days before cattle farmers kept stocks of fodder large enough to feed all of their herd for the entire winter, when the snow covered the pastures and restricted the amount of available grass. The farmers would have to slaughter many of the cattle at the beginning of winter (to prevent the cows from simply starving to death later during the long cold months without fresh supplies of grass). The meat from these cows would have to last for the whole winter season, and

spices were the only way to keep it from going completely rotten. Obviously any meat that was not fresh and which had not been preserved well would not taste very good, and this spoiled taste could be overcome somewhat by cooking it with more spices. Spices helped to season the meat and to keep it from decaying.

Spices were not only used to preserve and season meat. Many medicines were made from cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and other spices that made their way into the European market. For example, clove oil was prized for its antiseptic properties and for its usefulness in treating toothache. Other spices were thought to cure headache, promote appetite, and aid digestion. In addition to medicines, spices were often used for perfumes and cosmetics.

Thus the early Europeans viewed spices as an essential ingredient used for many of their daily needs, including the meat that they ate, the medicines that they took, and the cosmetics that they used. Because of their many useful properties and because of their rarity, these spices could be sold for high prices. It was said that even if five out of six ships were lost on a spice expedition, the money from the sale of the cargo of spices from the sixth ship would still provide an overall profit on the trip. Profit was a powerful incentive to prompt the Europeans to find a way to Asia to buy the spices directly from the source.

Scientific Advances:

Other reasons for the European expansion during the "Age of Exploration" can be traced to developments in the scientific study of geography, astronomy, navigation, and shipbuilding. During the early fifteenth century, European knowledge of Asia was extremely limited, and no European had ever sailed all the way to Asia. This began to change when Vasco da Gama succeeded in sailing past the Cape of Good Hope to arrive in India in 1498.

European geographical knowledge improved as more explorers managed to make the journey to various points in Asia. New advances in shipbuilding and navigational equipment helped make it possible for more adventurers to make the journey from Europe

to Asia by sea. The Portuguese developed a strong, fast, and maneuverable ship called the caravel. The caravel had lateen rigging (triangular sails) which allowed it to tack with the wind, and its carefully crafted construction made it sturdy enough to withstand long ocean voyages. The development of better compasses and use of the astrolabe (a device to determine one's bearing by checking the position of the stars) made it easier to navigate at sea. All these factors helped the Europeans undertake longer sea journeys that eventually included trips to India and then to Southeast Asia.

Religious Motives:

The Islamic world had expanded rapidly during the 12th-15th centuries, and the Europeans had interpreted this advance as a threat to their own religion (Christianity). For several centuries the Europeans and the Arabs had been at war with each other, and the Arabs had succeeded in establishing themselves in Spain and Portugal for a long time before finally being pushed back to north Africa. Religion had been a dominant factor in this continual warfare known as the Crusades, and it continued to be a major influence to the Europeans who began to have wider contact with the Muslim world as they started to trade directly with India and Melaka.

The Portuguese dominated the early European voyages to Asia. They were motivated not only by the potential profit to be gained from the spice trade but also from the desire to halt the spread of Islam and to promote the spread of Christianity. The Portuguese were determined to oppose the Muslim community wherever they could. This strong religious motivation played an important role in influencing the actions of the Portuguese as they sent more and more expeditions to Asia.

Economic and religious motives both made the Europeans eager to reach Asia. New scientific advances helped make it possible for them to do so. This combination of factors led to the development of a more active European role in the spice trade. While the European presence in Southeast Asia was at first little different than that of any other foreign traders, over time it developed into a colonial system that deeply influenced the development of the area.

Portuguese Presence in Southeast Asia.

By the end of the fifteenth century Portugal possessed a powerful naval force. In 1488 Bartholomew Diaz had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, proving that it was possible to sail around the southern tip of Africa and reach the Indian Ocean. Ten years later Vasco da Gama sailed to Goa in northwestern India, paving the way for the Portuguese to take control of the port at a later date.

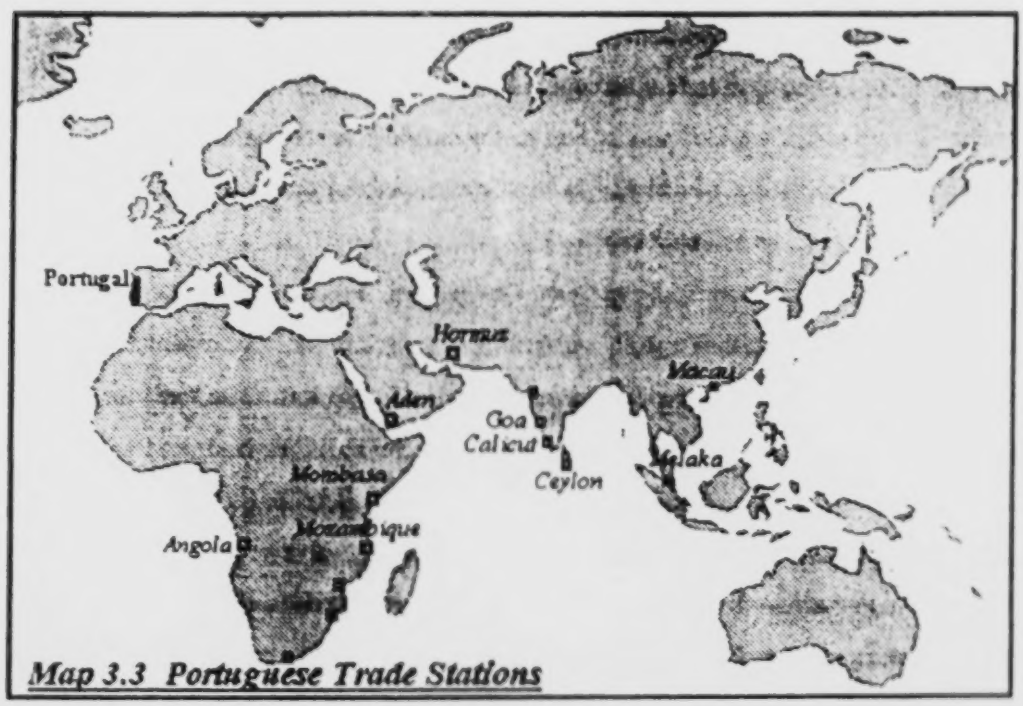
Goa had been a Muslim city, but the Portuguese replaced the Muslim ruler with a Hindu one who let the Portuguese have a monopoly in trade there. This was an important victory for the Portuguese, since Goa was one of the main trade centers along the spice route. The capture of Goa was a critical step in the Portuguese attempt to dominate the shipping lanes all the way to the Spice Islands.

The Portuguese decided that the best way to gain access to spices and other valuable trade goods was to establish a string of fortified ports at strategic points along the trade route. Angola and Mozambique were already under Portuguese rule, and provided the Portuguese with supply stations on their way to and from India. Hormuz and Goa were the next to come under Portuguese control, providing safe ports of call for Portuguese trade ships while at the same time hampering the ability of rival Arab merchants to continue trade in the area between India and the Arabian peninsula. For the Portuguese the next target was the center of Southeast Asian trade, Melaka.

In 1509 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived in Melaka. He and his crew were well received by the Sultan, but tensions soon developed, fighting broke out, and the Portuguese had to flee from the city. Although the Portuguese had failed in this attempt to establish a trading post in Melaka, another Portuguese expedition would soon follow. This time it was led by Alfonso d'Albuquerque, the man who hoped to establish for Portugal a complete monopoly over the entire spice trade.

D'Albuquerque arrived in Melaka in 1511 with eighteen ships and over 800 sailors and soldiers. His first attempt to take the city failed, but a second attack succeeded. The Sultan of Melaka was able to escape to the island of Bintan and the Melakan royal family

later established itself in Johor. The Portuguese were now masters of the port of Melaka. But while Melaka had been the jewel of the Southeast Asian trade route for the preceding one hundred years, its importance soon declined under Portuguese rule. Melaka's prosperity had depended heavily on the business of Muslim traders who now avoided the city after the Portuguese conquest. The Portuguese hatred of Islam drove away the very source of prosperity that had made Melaka so rich. The Portuguese dream of easy profits from the spice trade proved more difficult than first expected.



Map 3.3 Portuguese Trade Stations

Opposition to the Portuguese in Melaka was frequent. From their position in Johor the former ruling family of Melaka continued to resist the Portuguese by launching a number of attacks. Other local kingdoms also tried to dislodge the Portuguese from Melaka. Pati Unus, the Sultan of Demak, sent a large naval force to Melaka in 1512-1513. His fleet was beaten back by the Portuguese, and many ships were lost.

More determined attacks came from the sultanate of Aceh in northern Sumatra. Aceh had long been a strong center for Islam in Indonesia, and therefore had little desire

to see the Portuguese presence continue to grow in the region. A combined attack on Melaka from Aceh and Johor took place in 1547, but failed to defeat the Portuguese. The Acehnese tried again in 1568, this time enlisting the help of Turkish ships and gunners. In 1574 the Acehnese combined forces with the armies of Jepara for another attack. Out of the twenty-five separate attacks that were directed against Portuguese Melaka, fourteen came from Aceh. Despite all these attempts to gain control of the city, none succeeded in forcing the Portuguese from Melaka.

Though the Portuguese held on to their position in Melaka, they found that most of the Muslim traders no longer made Melaka the center of their operations. Instead they moved their business to other ports in Indonesia such as Aceh, Banten, and Makassar. Aceh was well situated to take advantage of trade entering the Straits of Melaka or moving down the west coast of Sumatra (thus avoiding the Portuguese at Melaka). Banten could also take advantage of the trade that was diverted from the Straits of Melaka to the west coast of Sumatra and through the Sunda Strait. Makassar was closer than either of these to the source of cloves, nutmeg, and mace produced in Maluku, and soon developed into a major trade port for the spice trade. By 1600 many Malays from Melaka were established in Makassar, as were Indians, Chinese, and Arabs. In this way the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese stimulated the development of new trade centers within Indonesia.

In their quest for spices the Portuguese were not content to stop at Melaka. As soon as they had taken Melaka the Portuguese set sail for the eastern islands of Maluku. They reached Banda in 1512 and soon arrived in Ternate, one of the two most powerful kingdoms in Maluku. The Portuguese made an agreement with the rulers of Ternate, and built a trading post for their operations. They also established an outpost in Ambon, and sponsored the planting of clove trees on both Ambon and Buru. By 1522 they had built a fortress in Ternate, and were determined to try to enforce a monopoly of the spice trade by controlling the sources of production.

In reality the Portuguese never succeeded in establishing a monopoly of the spice trade. Although they had posts in Aceh, Banten, Makassar, Timor, and Ternate, the Portuguese did not have the ability to completely prevent all other traders from selling

spices. In some areas the Portuguese were particularly weak, and participated as just one of many foreign traders. For example, the Portuguese never controlled Aceh, although they were allowed to do business there. Aceh remained an important independent force that was said to have exported up to five times the amount of pepper that the Portuguese were able to ship out of Indonesia.

Sultan Hairun

The rulers of Ternate had initially welcomed the Europeans to their island. More traders meant more profit for the sultan and for the community. But over time relations deteriorated as the Portuguese proved to be both unreliable and ruthless. Sultan Hairun was one ruler of Ternate who managed to carefully counter the Portuguese presence in his land by strengthening alliances with Ambon and other neighboring islands. Hairun was able to delay the construction of the new Portuguese fortress on Ambon, and tried to prevent the conversion of more people to Christianity on the nearby islands. In 1569 Hairun was able to encircle the Portuguese fortress and force the Portuguese into accepting a revised trading agreement that would give him higher prices and a larger share of the spice crop to sell.

The Portuguese were unhappy with Hairun's growing power. Determined to cut his wealth and influence, the Portuguese began falsifying trading accounts in order to underpay Hairun. Tension mounted as Hairun uncovered this scheme. Hostilities seemed likely. Peace was maintained, however, and both sides came to an agreement. Both sides swore an oath of friendship, the Portuguese using the Bible and Hairun using the Quran. The next day the Portuguese invited Sultan Hairun to a banquet in their fortress. When Hairun entered the compound he was murdered.

The Ternateans were outraged at this terrible act. Hairun's son, Baabullah, vowed to rid the Portuguese from the island. Baabullah became the next sultan, and enlisted the aid of Tidore and Bacan in fighting the Portuguese. Those Portuguese still in the fortress in Ternate were kept under siege for five years before they finally surrendered and left the island. Baabullah had temporarily succeeded in his vow to expel the foreigners. But soon the Portuguese were back, and after making an alliance with Ternate's traditional rival of Tidore, they again established themselves on Ternate. Baabullah died in 1585, and Ternate found it increasingly difficult to maintain itself as an independent kingdom free from foreign intervention.

The Portuguese had succeeded in their dream of establishing a string of fortified trading posts all the way to the spice islands. But their initial position of strength did not last long. The Indonesians soon learned how to adopt the naval tactics and use of cannon that had given the Portuguese an advantage in sea battles. Copies of Portuguese manuals on military techniques and gunnery were studied and translated into local languages by the seafaring inhabitants of Sulawesi. Local traders found ways to evade the Portuguese and continue their trade in spices. Even the Portuguese relationship with the local rulers of Ternate soon deteriorated to the point where they were trapped inside their outpost, unable to leave their fortress for five years.

While the Portuguese faced significant external difficulties, they also had problems within their own command. Many of the Portuguese governors used their position for personal gain, and corruption soon became widespread. An assignment to one of the outposts in Indonesia was seen as dangerous and risky: usually those who went were adventurers motivated by the possibility of building their own fortune through whatever means possible. Cruel and brutal methods were often employed in dealing with the local inhabitants.

One prominent exception to this pattern was Antonio Galvao, who served as governor from 1536 - 1540. His period of rule was characterized by a more humane and just approach. Unfortunately his successors were no better than the previous administrators. In fact some of the governors sent to Maluku were arrested by the Portuguese themselves and sent back to Goa as prisoners.

Francis Xavier, co-founder of the Jesuit Order, was another visitor to Maluku during the Portuguese period. He arrived in 1546 and spent the next two years in Ambon, Ternate, and Halmahera. He had already spent some time in Melaka, where he had started to learn Malay and to translate the Ten Commandments and a few other religious writings. His work as a missionary had some success, but Xavier was so discouraged by the poor behavior of the other Portuguese that he decided that he could better spend his effort as a missionary elsewhere.

The Portuguese were the most important of the European intruders within Indonesia in the sixteenth century. While they were able to use their naval power to gain

possession of a string of outposts leading up to the spice islands, by the late sixteenth century they were unable to maintain their dominance in the area. Other European nations were rapidly gaining power and posing new threats to the Portuguese sea-borne empire.

Other Early European Presence in Indonesia:

The Portuguese jealously guarded the way to the spice islands. They tried to keep the navigational information necessary to make the trip from Europe a secret. But other Europeans signed up as crew members on some of the Portuguese ships, and gradually knowledge of how to get to Indonesia spread to other nations. For example, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was a Dutchman who had lived for many years in both Lisbon and Goa, where he gathered as much information as he could from other sailors and traders. After he returned to Holland he organized this information into two books: shortly after the first book was published in 1595 the first Dutch expedition to the "East Indies" (Indonesia) was launched. Yet even before this time the Spanish had already found their own way to the spice islands.

Spain was Portugal's rival in Europe for many years. It is ironic that one of the most famous voyages made by the Spanish was led by Ferdinand Magellan, who was actually a native of Portugal. Magellan's expedition was the first to sail all the way around the globe. Though Magellan was killed in the Philippines, the rest of his crew continued the voyage. In 1521, shortly after Magellan's death, the remainder of the crew found their way to Tidore, where they met with the local ruler before moving on to return to Spain.

The Spanish returned to Tidore in 1527. Out of seven ships that left Spain to sail around the coast of South America to reach the spice islands, only one boat arrived. However the Portuguese in nearby Ternate quickly defeated the remainder of the Spanish crew. The Spanish and Portuguese continued fighting in the region for many years, despite an earlier agreement which was supposed to have divided the area into separate zones for each country.

The Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in 1494, divided the world into two equal spheres of interest, one for the Spanish and one for the Portuguese. The division line

started along 46° 37' west longitude. Unfortunately the Spanish and the Portuguese could not agree on where the corresponding boundary line on the other side of the world was to be found! This other line should have been 180 degrees from the starting boundary, thus putting it in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. But due to limitations of geographical knowledge, neither side could agree on where this boundary line lay, and since neither side knew the exact longitude of the Maluku islands, they both claimed the right to take over the area. Finally, in 1529, the treaty of Saragossa made it clear that Maluku was in Portuguese territory. The Spanish eventually retreated from Maluku, and concentrated their efforts on the Philippines.

In 1580 the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain were united under King Philip II. Theoretically this meant cooperation between the Portuguese and Spanish in their Southeast Asian endeavors, but in reality a large amount of rivalry continued. This turn of events allowed the Spanish to come back to Maluku. While they returned to Tidore and other nearby islands, the Spanish were not strong enough to establish themselves there for very long.

In 1579 the English sea captain Sir Francis Drake arrived in Ternate. Sultan Baabullah greeted Drake warmly, especially when he found out that the English were enemies of the Portuguese. Drake was allowed to conduct trade and left with a cargo of five tons of cloves. He also carried a letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth expressing a desire for further trade and help against the Portuguese.

Other British ships followed. Sir Thomas Cavendish was the next Englishman to sail through the Indonesian islands. He was followed by James Lancaster, who arrived in Ternate in 1592. Lancaster captured several Portuguese ships on this trip, and later returned to Indonesia on a trading mission sponsored by London merchants.

By this time the Dutch also started to send ships to Indonesia. The Dutch were already established as important merchants in Europe. By 1590 the Dutch had already crossed the Atlantic to go to South America and the West Indies. When the Portuguese port of Lisbon was closed to Dutch and English traders in 1594, the Netherlands and Britain were given good reason to extend their trade directly to the spice islands. Lisbon had been a major distribution center for the spices that the Portuguese brought back to

Europe, so when the Dutch and English were no longer able to do business there, they tried to go directly to the source of the spices. Furthermore, neither England nor the Netherlands were on very friendly terms with Spain or Portugal. Holland had been fighting for its independence from the Spanish and was therefore more of a rival than a partner to the traders from the Iberian peninsula. Religious differences also tended to make the largely Protestant Dutch and English unlikely to cooperate with the mostly Catholic Portuguese and Spanish.

The first Dutch expedition to the Indies was led by Cornelius de Houtman. In June, 1596, the four Dutch ships under his command arrived at the port of Banten. Seeing the Dutch as a potential ally against the Portuguese, the Sultan of Banten received the newcomers warmly and allowed them the right to trade. But relations deteriorated when a Javanese merchant was murdered, and de Houtman and his crew quickly departed. The expedition continued along the northern coast of Java and on to the nearby island of Madura, where the Dutch killed the Madurese king as he was sailing out to their ships to meet them. Further contact along the Javanese coast brought little in the way of trade, and the remaining crew was so weary that they set a course for home with only a little of the huge shipment of spices they had hoped to obtain. Financially the voyage was not a great success, and in human terms it was even worse: of the 248 crew that started the trip, 145 had died before even reaching Indonesia, and only 89 survived to return to Europe. And at most ports of call the Indonesians had received such a poor impression of the Dutch that they would be hesitant to welcome them back for trade.

Despite the rather dismal outcome of this first Dutch voyage, the merchants of Holland were happy to prove that they could reach the Indies and have a direct part in the spice trade. In 1598, after de Houtman had returned to the Netherlands, no less than five separate Dutch expeditions set sail for Indonesia. Of the 22 ships involved in these expeditions thirteen sailed via the Cape of Good Hope and nine went via the Straits of Magellan. Only one of the ships that took the route around South America reached the Indies, while twelve out of thirteen ships that used the African route arrived safely at their destination. Naturally the Dutch chose to use the African route in their future trips to Indonesia.

410

One of these five expeditions was a fleet of eight ships under the command of Jacob Van Neck. His was the first Dutch voyage to reach the spice-producing islands of Maluku. The Dutch visited Ambon, Banda, and Ternate, where they obtained a cargo of spices that would bring a 400% profit for the expedition upon their return home. Lured by the prospect of profitable trade, the Dutch scrambled to overtake the Spanish, Portuguese, and English traders. The Dutch were about to become the major European presence in Indonesia for the next three and a half centuries.

Summary:

Long before the presence of any European traders in Southeast Asia, there had developed in Indonesia a series of major local and international trade networks. Chinese, Indian, Arab, and Indonesian merchants all participated in this trade, and often met to exchange their wares in Melaka. As Melaka adopted Islam and as Muslim traders increased their presence in the archipelago, the religion of Islam soon spread to the major ports of Indonesia.

The sixteenth century witnessed a growing European participation in the trade of Southeast Asia. For the Indonesians, this often simply meant one more set of traders who joined the already diverse group of foreign merchants in their lands. The Portuguese could never fully implement the trade monopoly that they desired, though their attempts to prevent others from participating in the spice trade certainly affected many Indonesian spice traders and producers. The Portuguese were also not successful in driving back the dynamic growth of the Islamic religion. Only a relatively few areas of eastern Indonesia were converted to Christianity, while Islam continued to establish itself throughout much of the rest of the archipelago.

The Portuguese capture of Melaka had a major effect on the flow of trade in the Southeast Asian region. Ironically for the Portuguese, the great prosperity of Melaka quickly diminished after they took over. Muslim merchants took their business elsewhere, contributing to the rise of Aceh, Banten, and Makassar.

Most Indonesian states continued to maintain their independence during the Portuguese era. Aceh grew into a powerful force in Sumatra, often challenging the Portuguese across the Straits of Melaka. The pasisir states of Java developed into important trade centers as did Banten on the west coast of Java. Further inland, at the end of the sixteenth century, the kingdom of Mataram began to rise in the place of the old Majapahit empire. The Portuguese maintained trading posts in some of these areas, but did not attempt to colonize any of these kingdoms. The Portuguese presence was felt more strongly in Maluku, but even here they faced frequent opposition and could not always control the trade of all of the spice islands.

118

Exercises:

I Multiple Choice: Circle the letter of the option that best answers each question.

1) Melaka was founded by Prince Parmeswara around

a) 1300
b) 1350
c) 1400
d) 1511

2) Which of the following was not a major factor in helping Melaka become an important trade center

a) good relations with Chinese merchants and the Chinese court
b) the help of the orang laut
c) its ability to grow and export cloves, nutmeg, and mace
d) strategic location and good facilities

3) Between 1400 and 1500 Melaka developed into a major trading port visited by merchants from

a) Arabia and India
b) China and Indonesia
c) Europe and Indonesia
d) a and b

4) Which of the following was a major reason for the expansion of Islam in Indonesia

a) the visits of the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta
b) the adoption of Islam by the rulers of Melaka, and Melaka's growth as a trade port
c) the growth of Bali as a safe haven for Javanese cultute
d) the widespread use of wayang to depict stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana

5) Which of the following groups in Java would be most likely to follow Islamic teachings, principles, and guidelines strictly and thoroughly:

a) santri
b) abangan
c) priyayi
d) b and c

6) Which of the following ports were located on Java's pasisir, or north coast:

a) Pedir and Pasai
b) Demak and Jepara
c) Tuban and Gresik
d) b and c

7) Sulawesi is home to which of these ethnic groups:

a) Makassarese
b) Bugis
c) Sundanese
d) a and b

8) Spices such as pepper, clove, and nutmeg were in high demand in early European society for all of the following reasons except:

a) to cure and preserve meat
b) for use as pigments in artists' paints
c) for use as medicine
d) for use in cosmetics

9) A major aim of the initial Portuguese expansion into Asia was the desire to

a) colonize all of Southeast Asia
b) monopolize the spice trade
c) cooperate peacefully with the Spanish
d) compete with British traders who were already in the area

10) Based on their early experience in trying different routes to Indonesia, most Dutch captains opted to use

a) the route around Africa
b) the route around South America
c) the Northwest Passage
d) whichever route the winds were blowing in

II Match the Columns:

Early Southeast Asia was a major center for international trade. Match the following products with the area from which they come. Write the letter of the option in column two next to the number of its corresponding item in column one. Use each letter only once.

1) ___ Borneo	A) silk
2) ___ Sumatra	B) textiles
3) ___ Timor	C) glass
4) ___ China	D) carpets
5) ___ Melaka	E) rice
6) ___ Venice	F) sandalwood
7) ___ Java	G) honey, wax, rattan, and camphor
8) ___ Maluku	H) pepper
9) ___ Arabia	I) cloves and nutmeg
10)___ India	J) no major local products -- more important as a trade center

III Essays:

1) Outline the spread of Islam through Indonesia and describe the different ways in which it was adapoted by local communities.

2) Describe the motivation for the Europeans to participate in the spice trade and outline their strategy for getting involved.

3) Why did Melaka become an important trade center and how did it function?

IV Chronology:

Rearrange the following events in the order in which they happened. (Place the letter from the first event next to number one and so forth. If possible, add the date or dates for each event.)

A) Demak leads the north Javanese coast ports in adopting Islam.

B) Francis Xavier arrives in Maluku.

C) Islam first observed in Indonesia by a Westerner.

D) The first Dutch expedition reaches Indonesia.

E) Melaka founded by Paremeswara.

F) Vasco da Gama sails to India.

G) The Portuguese arrive in Maluku.

H) Pajajaran, the last of the major Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of central and western Java, is conquored by Banten.

I) D'Albuquerque takes Melaka for the Portuguese.

J) The power of the kingdom of Demak fades while that of Japara grows, as symbolized by Queen Kalinyamat's first major assault on Melaka.

1) _____ 6) _____

2) _____ 7) _____

3) _____ 8) _____

4) _____ 9) _____

5) _____ 10) _____

V Creative Writing:

1) Magellan's voyage is known in history as the first to sail all the way around the world. Yet Magellan himself was killed half way through the voyage and thus never circumnavigated the glove himself. However, Magellan had brought with him a slave whom he called Enrique. While his exact birthplace is unknown, Enrique probably came from the Maluku region of Indonesia. Magellan met him in Melaka (before undertaking his round the world journey) and brought him back to Europe via the India/Africa route.

   Enrique then accompanied Magellan on the historic voyage to circle the globe. The ships sailed past South America to the Philippines, where Magellan was killed. When the rest of Magellan's crew reached Maluku, Enrique had reached his homeland again, thus becomming the first person ever to have travelled by ship all the way around the world.

   Imagine that you are Enrique. Describe your adventures and trace the route that you took during your travels.

2) The year is 1425. You are a shahbandar in Melaka and you are busy dealing with the crowds of foreign merchants who have come to your port. Describe a typical day in your life, including details of your job, your interaction with foreign traders, the types of goods available for sale in the market, and the sights and sounds of the bustling port city.

CHAPTER 4

THE AGE OF MATARAM AND THE VOC

The Development of Indonesian Societies 1600-1800

With the increasing European presence in the Indonesian archipelago came new challenges for the local rulers. But while it is important to realize the impact of the Europeans on the local society, it is also important not to overemphasize or over-generalize their role in the everyday lives of the inhabitants throughout the islands. Because the Dutch started their involvement in Indonesia around the beginning of the seventeenth century and ended their colonial presence in the middle of the twentieth century, it has been common to speak of 350 years of Dutch rule in Indonesia. Yet the Dutch presence was not uniform throughout the archipelago. The Dutch became well established in Java and Maluku during the seventeenth century, and their presence had a direct effect on the politics and economies of those areas. However, in many other areas, such as Kalimantan or Irian Jaya, there was little effective Dutch administration until the beginning of the twentieth century. Some areas, such as Aceh, fiercely fought to retain their independence and were able to resist Dutch control until just a few decades before the Dutch themselves were forced out of the islands. In order to try to maintain a balanced view of this period of Indonesian history it is necessary to try to include the perspective of all of these different areas.

This chapter will begin with an overview of the societies in four important areas of Indonesia -- Java; Sunda and its neighbors in southern Sumatra; Aceh; and Makassar. Naturally this only give a sample of what was happening in Indonesia at that time, since there were scores of separate states and societies with various levels of independence. It will be necessary to describe the interactions of the local rulers with the Dutch and other foreigners, but the emphasis will be on looking at each area from within rather than from

just the Dutch perspective. In order to explain the Dutch involvement in these separate societies and to give an overview of the Dutch presence in Indonesia, the second half of the chapter will explain the Dutch motives and goals, and will focus on the areas where they had the most impact on the lives of the Indonesians.

Java at the Beginning of the Age of Mataram

Chapter three provided a brief description of the mythical beginnings of the second age of Mataram. According to this version, the powerful leader Senapati made a pact with the Goddess of the Southern Seas, and with her help founded a powerful dynasty.

Is this story mere legend or was there really a person called Senapati? Who was he and where did he come from? As with many legends, there appears to be some historical basis for this story. There are records showing that a man referred to as Senapati undertook a number of military campaigns to increase the size and power of his kingdom. The story begins in the 1500's when two competing kingdoms, Pajang and Jipang, vied for power in central Java. Adivijaya, the ruler of Pajang, gave away the district of Mataram to Kyai Gede Pamanahan as a reward for killing his rival, the ruler of Jipang. Kyai Gede's son was known as Senapati Ingalaga.

Senapati (the name itself means "general") inherited Mataram from his father and added to its territory through a series of conquests. Senapati's first son, Krapyak, succeeded him but was beset by problems within his kingdom and by rivalry with his own brother (Senapati's second son), who controlled the powerful kingdom of Demak. Krapyak tried to take over the port of Surabaya but failed. In 1614 Krapyak was in turn succeeded by his son, who became the powerful ruler known as Sultan Agung. Agung was able to regain the glory of the kingdom from Senapati's time, and even extended its territory by finally capturing Surabaya. This was accomplished in 1625 only after a five year siege of the city, which probably would have lasted even longer had Agung not diverted the city's water supply by damming the Kali Mas river.

Loro Kidul, Goddess of the Southern Seas.

Legend states that when Senapati was a young man he used to go fishing in the river. One day he was offered a very large fish by the other men who were fishing at the river, but he ordered the fish to be set free. Later the same fish came to him and carried him on its back all the way down the river to the southern sea. In response to this unusual occurrence, Senapati began to pray. His prayers were so powerful that the winds grew stronger, the ocean began to churn and the waves crashed upon the shore.

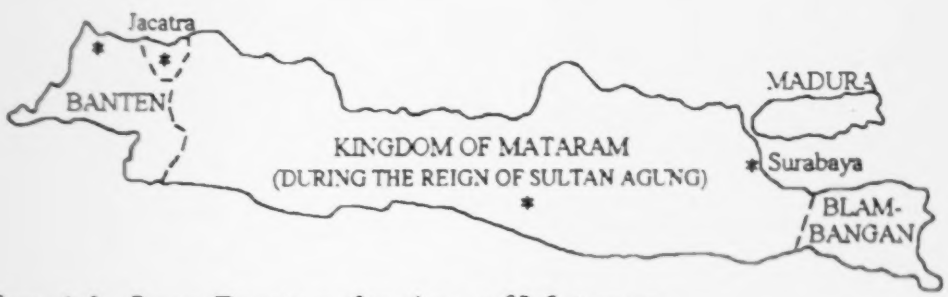
Loro Kidul came out from her underwater palace to investigate the cause of this disturbance. She approached Senapati and said "Prince, your prayers have been heard. Please quiet your heart and let the winds and the waves subside, for I must protect these seas. Be joyful, for you shall become the ruler of Java, as will your sons and grandsons after you."

Senapati was of course happy to hear these words. And when he looked up he was happier still, for the Goddess who spoke these words was so beautiful and graceful that he could not stop himself from falling in love with her. He followed her into the sea back to her palace, where they lay in her private chamber for three days and three nights. At the end of this time he asked her to marry him but she refused, explaining that she preferred to be queen of her domain, where no one gave her orders, than to be married. But though the Goddess would not marry him she offered to support him in all he did. "If ever you need me," she said, " just look up to the southern sky and call for me. I shall come to your aid with all my sea-spirits. But now you must return to your land."

Senapati walked over the waves back to the beach. He was greeted by an old Muslim sage and together they returned to Mataram. From then on Senapati was aided in his endeavors by the beautiful goddess, and he succeeded in expanding his kingdom far and wide throughout Java.

It is interesting to note that to this day thousands of Indonesians believe that there is still a special relationship between the royal house in Yogyakarta and Loro Kidul. And visitors to Java's southern beaches are still cautioned not to wear green, the favorite color of the Sea Goddess, for fear that she will take them down to her watery palace beneath the waves. At least one hotel on the southern coast reserves a special room for the Goddess and will not allow it to be occupied by other guests. People there will tell you that the Goddess has visited that room on more than one occasion.

Agung's empire included all of Java except for Banten in the west (in the region of Sunda) and Blambangan in the very east of Java (across the strait from Bali). It also included the island of Madura just to the north of Surabaya. Agung had succeeded in uniting almost all of Java at the time of the Dutch arrival in Indonesia. Later he attempted to continue the expansion of his empire by attacking the Hindu kingdom of Blambangan in eastern Java and by trying to evict the Dutch from their position at Jakarta.



Map 4.1 Java During the Age of Mataram

While much of Agung's wealth came from import and export taxes generated by the trade of the north coast ports, the kingdom of Mataram was still primarily based on the rice production of the interior. Political, religious, and economic power lay concentrated in the hands of the king. At the political center of his kingdom was the kraton, or palace, where he received tribute and ruled with unquestioned authority.

Sunda and Southern Sumatra

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the kingdom of Banten in the western part of Java (Sunda) was one of the few areas of Java that had not been taken over by Sultan Agung of Mataram. Banten had a well developed trading port with an international community of merchants. In addition to the Chinese, Indian, and Arab traders who did business there, the English and the Dutch both established trading lodges in Banten at the very early stages of their involvement in Indonesia. For the first half of the seventeenth

century the English and the Dutch were simply two additional players in the already cosmopolitan make-up of the city. Only later, in the 1680's, were the Dutch able to take advantage of internal disputes regarding succession to the throne in order to gain control over the area.

The main source of Banten's wealth was its trade in pepper. China had long been a major importer of Indonesian pepper. Europe was also a growing market for pepper: as early as 1570 as much as 2,000 tons were being imported annually. Pepper was popular as a remedy for everything from indigestion and lack of appetite to gout and loss of memory.

In addition to pepper, a wide assortment of other goods flowed though the port of Banten. Indians, Malays, Arabs, and Chinese came to the city to take part in the great bazaar to be found in the main marketplace. There merchants exchanged all type of goods, including rice, fish, salt, sugar, spices, honey, ivory, gold, tin, sandalwood, resin, silk, satin, and porcelain. These products came from all parts of the archipelago, including Sumatra, Madura, Sulawesi, Maluku, the lesser Sunda islands, and Kalimantan, and even from ports beyond Indonesia as far away as China. While pepper remained the major export of Banten, it was by no means the only product traded there.

Map 4.2 Sumatra

Pepper production and trade were not limited to Banten. Across the straits in southern Sumatra were two other pepper-producing areas, Palembang and Jambi. These two areas were traditional rivals, with Palembang usually having the upper hand. In the early 1600's, though, Jambi was regarded by some as the richest of the southeastern coastal kingdoms of Sumatra, though its importance was later once again overshadowed by Palembang.

Both Palembang and Jambi relied on the collection of pepper from the inland (upriver) areas and its sale at the downriver ports by the coast. The nature of this cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship was reflected in legends depicting an upriver woman marrying a king from the downriver region. In reality the courts of both kingdoms were based at downriver locations, and local women from the inland (upriver) areas were often given in tribute to the king.

Relations between upriver and downriver (i.e. inland and coastal) areas were kept in balance, contributing to the welfare of both communities. Traditional means for maintaining good relations between the inland and coastal populations included building family ties by marrying off a daughter from one area to another, bestowing a title on a trusted ally, and allowing a fine or debt to remain unpaid for a long time, even for generations, if conditions made it impossible for quick payment to be made. Long-term trust was built by maintaining a common knowledge of each other's rights and obligations. Family ties were very important, and were viewed as the ideal form of relationship. After all, who could one trust if not a family member? Even trade was ideally carried out among those who maintained some type of prior family relationship. Trade was viewed more as an exchange of gifts that cemented relations between the giver and receiver rather than as a purely monetary transaction undertaken solely for economic gain.

The arrival of the English and the Dutch into this system in the early 1600's set the stage for a certain amount of miscommunication and cultural misunderstanding. The Dutch merchants were accustomed to viewing trade purely as an opportunity for profit and had developed accurate accounting techniques that would account for every last penny. They also came from a background that emphasized the authority of legal documents and the literal interpretation of written treaties and agreements, as well as the concept that everyone -- friend, family, or stranger -- be treated alike in law and trade.

The mismatch in cultural practices between the Europeans and the Indonesian is clearly illustrated in the difficulties that arose out of a contract that the Dutch had negotiated in 1642 with the ruler of Palembang. This contract gave the Dutch exclusive rights to trade all of the pepper produced by Palembang, though due to a temporary glut in the market the Dutch did not try to enforce this treaty until 1655. When tensions

developed from the sudden resurfacing of the Dutch demands for monopoly more than a dozen years after the original contract had been signed, the ruler of Palembang eventually tried to smooth things over in 1658 by attempting to adopt the Dutch envoy as his son, even giving him a special kris and an official title. While the establishment of "family ties" between the two sides would have helped the situation greatly from the Indonesian perspective, the Dutch envoy belittled the gesture, eventually causing hostilities to break out. The Dutch envoy and many of his crew were killed, and the Dutch retaliated in 1659 by attacking Palembang and defeating its ruler.

The ruler of Jambi took advantage of the fall of Palembang. As an ally of the Dutch, the ruler of Jambi was given cannons and boats from the defeated forces of Palembang, and was also able to pick the new ruler of Palembang, who, of course, was sympathetic to Jambi and even addressed the ruler of Jambi as "father." The court of Jambi continued to grow in stature, partly as a result of marriage links to the royal families of Makassar, Inderagiri, Banten, Johor, and even Mataram. The leader of Jambi assumed the title of "sultan" and was no longer regarded as a dependent of the Javanese court of Mataram. Pepper had brought wealth to the region, and this wealth and power were reflected and reinforced by growing links to other prominent Indonesian kingdoms.

Aceh

While Palembang and Jambi vied for power in the south of Sumatra, there was clearly only one kingdom that dominated the north of the island. During the seventeenth century Aceh was able to gain control of most of the northern half of Sumatra as well as sizable amounts of the Malay peninsula. During the sixteenth century Aceh had been able to resist the coming of the Portuguese, and had frequently threatened the Portuguese stronghold at Melaka. After a period of internal intrigues at the end of the 1500's a strong leader emerged who would come to be known as the greatest of Aceh's rulers. His name was Sultan Iskandar Muda.

Iskandar Muda became sultan in 1607 and under his reign the armies of Aceh were able to capture Deli and Aru on the island of Sumatra, as well as the neighboring west coast island of Nias. Pahang, Kedah, and Johor on the Malay peninsula were also conquered. After all these victories Iskandar Muda attempted to take Melaka, but met with no more success than had his predecessors. Yet he had built a sizable army, complete with infantry, artillery, cavalry, and even elephant corps, as well as a large navy equipped with many galleys. Aceh remained an independent and powerful force in Sumatra for many years.

Aceh's status grew during Iskandar Muda's reign. Under his rule Islam flourished, and Aceh became known as a center of Islamic learning as well as a departure point for Muslim pilgrims bound for the holy land of Mecca. Wealth accumulated from the trade in pepper and gold, which attracted Chinese and European merchants alike. Gujerati merchants acted as middlemen, and traders from many other lands came to barter for goods. An early English account from 1602 mentions that 16 or 18 ships from other nations were seen when the English entered the harbor, including some from Gujerat, Bengal, and the Malabar coast of India, as well as from Pegu (Burma) and from Patani (Thailand). The Dutch were allowed to trade as individuals along with all the others, but the Dutch East India company was not given permission to do business. This policy helped ensure that the Dutch did not gain control over the area.

The English were given preferred status in their trading rights over the Dutch, possibly due to earlier English attempts at fostering good relations. When John Davis had visited Aceh in 1599 (the first Englishman to do so) he had been greeted warmly as a potential ally against the Portuguese. When James Lancaster arrived in Aceh in 1602 he came bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth I addressing the sultan as "our loving brother." The letter requested the establishment of trade and friendship treaties, which were granted to allow the English exemption from tolls and customs, and the protection of property rights.

Iskandar Muda's reign could be said to represent the golden age of Aceh. Iskandar Muda was a powerful ruler who expanded Aceh's territory and international reputation, and who maintained contact with other kings both near and far. He cultivated relations

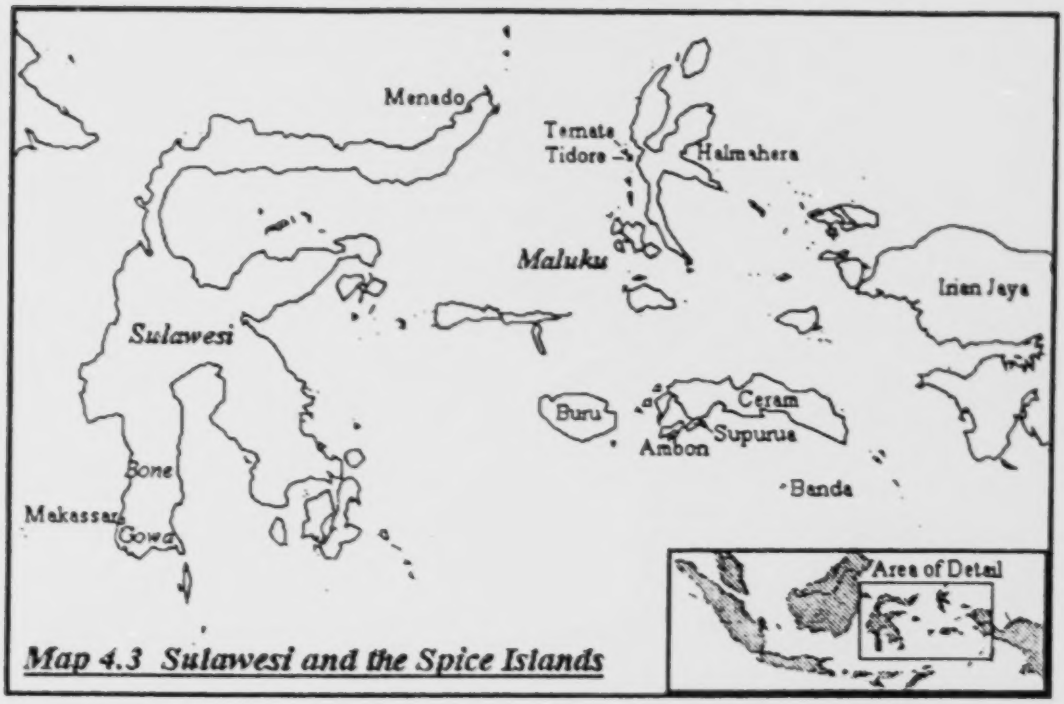
with Turkey and sent letters of friendship to several of the monarchs of Europe, including those of England and France. After his reign ended in 1636 Aceh remained an important power, but did not maintain the momentum of its territorial expansion or its active involvement in affairs around the Malay peninsula. His successor, Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah, was a quieter man who ruled for only five years. He was succeeded by his wife (the daughter of Iskandar Muda), who became the first of four queens who were to rule Aceh from 1641 to 1699.

During the seventeenth century Aceh maintained its independence and was able to select its degree of involvement with European traders. Europeans were permitted to partake in Aceh's trade on much the same terms as did all the other foreign merchants. The vigorously independent spirit that inspired Aceh's golden age was kept alive in subsequent generations as the Acehnese continued to resist Dutch control up to the end of the nineteenth century.

Makassar

The politics and domestic affairs of south Sulawesi were dominated by two major ethnic groups, the Makassarese, centered in Gowa, and the Bugis, centered in Bone. Both groups had reputations as accomplished warriors and experienced seamen, and both considered the other as a rival for control of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi.

The Makassarese began to expand their influence in the mid 1500's and by the beginning of the 1600's had become the dominant power in south Sulawesi. Their ruler adopted Islam in 1605, which helped make the Makassarese capitol of Gowa more attractive as a trading stop to other Muslim merchants. Gradually Makassar became an important destination for traders to the eastern part of the archipelago, such as those dealing in sandalwood or spices. Makassar competed with Ternate as a major power in the area.



Map 4.3 Sulawesi and the Spice Islands

Makassar grew as a trade center and attracted the interest of the Portuguese and later the Dutch, English, Danes, and French. The Makassarese welcomed European and Asian traders to its port, and its very success in keeping its trade open to all made the Dutch realize they had failed in their attempt to maintain a monopoly on the spice trade.

In 1637 the Dutch Governor-General van Diemen made a treaty with the sultan of Gowa recognizing the Dutch right to trade in the spice islands. The sultan, however, did not interpret the treaty in the same way as the Dutch, and continued to allow the brisk trade in spices that passed through the hands of other Asian and European traders. The Dutch tried to force Sultan Hasanuddin to restrict all other traders from sailing to the spice islands and to allow only the Dutch to have exclusive rights to the spice trade. The sultan refused to cooperate, saying that God had made the land and divided it among men but that the sea belonged to everyone, and no one could be stopped from sailing to trade with whomever they pleased.

The continuing disagreement between the Dutch and the Makassarese over trading rights led to several skirmishes and finally all out war. Towards the end of 1666 the Dutch

attacked Makassar with the aid of Arung Palakka, a Buginese general who had already tried to rebel against the forces of Makassar. In 1663 Arung Palakka had moved to Batavia, the Dutch headquarters in Java, but he was quick to take the opportunity of returning to Sulawesi as an ally of the Dutch to join in the fight against the Makassarese. The Makassarese under Sultan Hasanuddin were allied with the English but after three years of fighting were finally defeated by the combined Dutch and Buginese forces. Arung Palakka now became the most powerful man in Southern Sulawesi.

Arung Palakka ruled with an iron hand, leading further campaigns to expand his power and authority. To escape his rule many Makassarese and Buginese left Sulawesi at this time, sailing across the seas to various other Indonesian islands and to the Malay peninsula. These bands of roving sea-pirates, as they were often called, were feared for their military skills. Many took over as leaders in their new homes, often through the use of force.

After Hasanuddin's defeat the Dutch succeeded in expelling the English and other European traders from Sulawesi. Although this reduced competition, the overall profits from the spice trade were beginning to decline as changing patterns of supply and demand made spices a less valuable commodity. Ironically the long and costly war that the Dutch had waged to gain control over Sulawesi and its spice markets was won at just about the same time that the Dutch were beginning to realize that they needed to look for other products to make a profit.

The Establishment of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)

It is clear from the preceding section that the Dutch were actively involved in many areas of Indonesia. Though their control in the islands was uneven, their impact was widely felt. Chapter 3 described some of the reasons why the Dutch began sending ships to the East Indies (their name for Indonesia). Profit from the spice trade was their main motive, and the Dutch were energetic and determined in their desire to dominate this trade. So many Dutch merchant ships swarmed to the Indies following de Houtman's

expedition in 1596 that the next few years came to be known as the time of "wild" or unregulated voyages.

These early voyages were sponsored by individual trading companies in the Netherlands. More than 70 companies in the Netherlands tried to get involved in Asian trade. After a few years of intense competition the Dutch companies realized that they could gain more profit if they cooperated with each other. To consolidate their efforts the Dutch established a single master trading company in 1602. The company is often referred to by its Dutch initials, VOC, which stands for the "Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie," or United East Indies Company.

The VOC had a board of 17 directors, often referred to as the "Heeren XVII," (17 Gentlemen) who directed affairs of the company from their headquarters in the Netherlands. However it could take over two years for a message from Europe to reach Indonesia and for a reply to be received back in Europe. This made it impossible for the 17 Gentlemen to make quick decisions about the policy and day-to-day administration of the their outposts in the Indies. Soon they established the position of Governor-General: whoever filled this post became the effective director of the Dutch operations in Asia.

The VOC's founding charter gave it an unusually large amount of power for a private trading company. The Dutch government recognized the VOC as its representative in Asia, and allowed it the right to build forts and trading stations, to coin money, to form treaties, to enjoy a monopoly on Dutch trade in the Pacific and Indian ocean regions, to use military force, and to establish colonies. In many ways the VOC acted more like a government body than a collection of spice merchants. In addition to these powers the VOC began life with a huge amount of money -- ten times the amount that the English East India Company had started with when it was established two years earlier.

The VOC was not the only European trading company to seek profit in the Indies. As mentioned above, the English started their own East India Company in 1600. The French did the same in 1604 as did the Danes in 1616. The Portuguese, of course, had already been in the area for nearly a century. But by the early 1600's it was mainly the Dutch and English who competed for the European share of the Asian trade. Though the Dutch had the advantage of more money and more ships in the region, the English were

able to establish posts in many Indonesian cities, including Aceh, Banten, Jambi, Jacatra (an early name for Jakarta), Jepara, and Makassar.

The VOC was ruthless in its pursuit of profit and convinced that monopoly was the best policy to maximize its earnings. By 1605 the Dutch had seized Ambon from the Portuguese and were quickly establishing a foothold in Maluku. Here the English were also actively seeking to form trading posts and make treaties to get control of a part of the spice trade. The Dutch continually interfered with English plans for trade in Maluku until English complaints to the Netherlands resulted in two conferences to try to reach an agreement on fair trading practices. The negotiations finally led to an agreement in July of 1619 under which England and the Netherlands were to cooperate in the Far East. Each side was allowed to keep its old forts and was required to return any prisoners and ships captured from the other side. The Dutch were allowed to buy one half of the pepper and two thirds of the other spices in the region while the English could have the rest. This treaty helped the English temporarily but friction between them and the Dutch soon resurfaced.

The Dutch could be dangerous to oppose. In 1619 John Jourdain, the president of the English East India Company, was shot and killed while standing on the deck of his ship under a flag of truce trying to negotiate with the crew of a Dutch ship near Patani. In 1623 ten Englishmen, together with nine Japanese and a Portuguese, were tried and executed for allegedly plotting to take over the Dutch post in Ambon. The English later referred to this incident as the Ambon Massacre, though naturally the Dutch had a different viewpoint, and saw it as a justified action to safeguard their own interests. After this point the English reduced their presence in the area. Though it maintained posts in Makassar, Banten, and Aceh through the later part of the mid 1600's, the English East India Company concentrated its attention on the Indian subcontinent and for the most part left the Indonesian archipelago to the Dutch.

It is important to remember that the Dutch were trying to establish control over a huge area of Asia. The Dutch were especially successful in continuing to edge out much of the other European competition in the archipelago, but they did not limit their activities to Indonesia. In 1641 the Dutch took over Melaka from the Portuguese. The Dutch also

took over Portuguese interests in Sri Lanka, which gave them access to a large share of the cinnamon market. For a short time the Dutch took control of Formosa (the island of Taiwan) from the Spanish, until they in turn were driven out by the Chinese. The Dutch had posts in India, and also maintained trade with the Japanese at a time when no other Europeans were allowed to do so. The VOC intended to make their headquarters in Java the hub of a wide network of Asian trade stretching thousands of miles from India and Sri Lanka to China and Japan. It was primarily interested in developing a series of trade posts and maintaining its dominant position through its superior naval force. It was not initially concerned with colonizing large areas of land, but this began to change with its increasing involvement first in the spice islands and in Java, and later in the other regions of Indonesia.

The VOC in Maluku

Spices were the magic lure that had drawn the Dutch to Asia. In order to try to impose a monopoly on the spice trade the Dutch went directly to the supply source in Maluku. Within the first ten years of their presence in Indonesia the VOC had made an alliance with Ternate and had begun their occupation of Banda. They had also expelled the Portuguese from Ambon and had negotiated a treaty with the Ambonese recognizing Dutch power there.

While the Dutch were determined to impose their authority in the area, the local inhabitants and the other European powers did not sit by passively. A year after the Dutch drove out the Portuguese from Ternate in 1605, the Spanish governor of the Philippines sent an armada of 36 ships to retake Ternate, where the Spanish would remain for the next six decades. Further resistance grew as local forces from around the region of Ambon and Seram formed an alliance under Kakiali, a Muslim leader from Hitu. Support from Ternatean forces in Seram's western region of Hoamoal and from the Makassarese of Gowa helped Kakiali as he resisted Dutch encroachment by smuggling cloves and attacking local pro-Dutch communities. Kakiali was captured by the Dutch and later released in an effort to show good will to end the troubles, but Kakiali and his forces

continued their campaign to end Dutch interference in their lands. The Dutch thought they had solved their problems when they paid a Spaniard to murder Kakiali in 1643, but the Hituese resistance forces continued to fight for another three years.

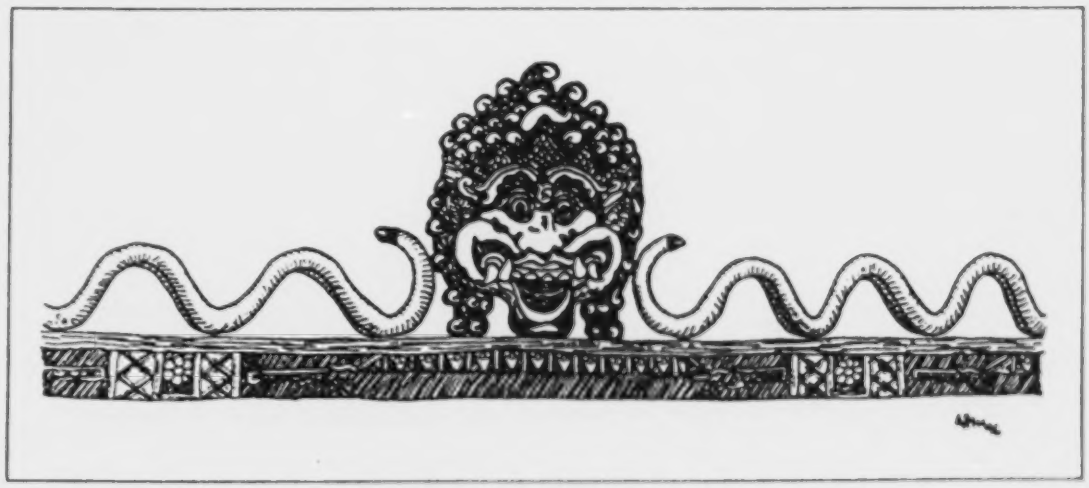
Dutch reaction to local resistance was swift and harsh. The Dutch seemed convinced that they had the right to disrupt age-old local networks of friendships and patterns of trade by forcing spice producers to sell only to the VOC. Any attempt to "smuggle" spices by selling to other merchants was seen as justification for the use of force.

One particularly grim example occurred on the nutmeg-producing Banda islands. VOC Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen complained that the Bandanese were selling nutmeg to the Spanish on Tidore. In March 1621 the Dutch defeated the Bandanese on Lonthor. Forty-seven local leaders were held hostage, tortured and killed when Bandanese forces resisted Dutch attacks. Thousands of Bandanese who had fled to the hills died of starvation as the Dutch destroyed their villages on the coast. Eventually even those hiding in the hills were rounded up and deported as slaves to other islands. Inhabitants of the nearby island of Run tried to escape when they heard of the Dutch actions, but they were caught and all of their adult men executed. Thus virtually all of the Bandanese were either killed or shipped off as slaves. The empty Bandanese land was divided up among VOC agents and worked with imported slave labor.

To ensure that they could maintain a monopoly of the nutmeg trade, the VOC introduced "hongi" raids to other nearby islands to search out and destroy any nutmeg trees that they found. "Hongi" raids consisted of fleets of large cora-coras, or oar-driven canoes, that visited the other islands. By cutting down trees on all the islands except those on which the Dutch had absolute control, the VOC was able to make sure that they had access to the entire source of production. Little thought was spared to the fact that they were depriving the inhabitants of the other islands of a vital source of income. Hongi raids around the Banda islands were greatly feared, and became symbolic of the ruthless tactics of the Dutch.

The Dutch continued to consolidate their hold in Maluku. By 1663 the Spanish surrendered their outposts in Ternate and Tidore. Four years later VOC power was

formally acknowledged by Tidore. The remaining "leaks" in the VOC spice monopoly were mostly channeled through merchants in Gowa, and the VOC moved in to take control there. As described earlier in this chapter, the VOC joined forces with Arung Palakka against the Makassarese centered in Gowa. By the 1670's the situation in eastern Indonesia had stabilized in favor of the Dutch. Finally the VOC seemed to be working things out according to plan. However, things were not proceeding in quite the same way for the Dutch in Java. There the Dutch were gradually changing their role from merchant to colonial administrator, becoming bogged down in increasingly costly military intervention that gave them control of more and more of the total territory of the island.



Java and the VOC

During their early days in Java the Dutch kept a trading post on the west coast port of Banten. Friction with the English, who also traded there, and the ruler of Banten eventually prompted the Dutch to search for another place to establish their headquarters. They moved up east along the coast to a sleepy fishing village called Jayakerta.

From Sunda Kelapa to Batavia

Jayakerta had a good harbor, and had been inhabited for a long time. It used to bear the name of Sunda Kelapa, but by the time the Dutch arrived it had been renamed to Jayakerta (from which the modern name, Jakarta, is derived). The Dutch established a trading post there in 1611 and the English soon did the same.

The English and the Dutch were unable to cooperate with each other for very long, either in Maluku or on Java. When the Dutch captured English ships in Maluku, the English took a Dutch ship near Banten in return. In retaliation the Dutch set fire to the English post in Jayakerta, which prompted the English to sail from Banten to Jayakerta with the support of the sultan of Banten to teach the Dutch a lesson. The Dutch fleet at Jayakerta, under Jan Pieterszoon Coen, managed to escape to Ambon to seek reinforcements, while the English remained in the harbor of Jayakerta to lay siege to the remaining Dutch still trapped inside the fort. The English were on the verge of taking the town when forces from Banten arrived and prevented them from doing so. The Bantanese perhaps did not wish to allow the English to gain too much influence in the area. The English left the scene and the Bantenese continued the siege of the Dutch fort.

In May of 1619 Coen returned with more men and attacked the Bantenese. He was successful in driving out the Bantenese forces and liberating the Dutch fort. From the ruins of the burnt out city of Jayakerta the Dutch built themselves a headquarters that they would occupy for more than three centuries. They named their new center of administration Batavia.

While the Dutch were establishing themselves in Batavia, Sultan Agung of Mataram was aggressively expanding his empire. Having united most of Java under his rule, Agung began plans to take over the remaining independent areas in the west of the island. Banten was one of the two major independent powers there. Batavia was the second. In 1628 Sultan Agung sent an army to drive out the VOC. After a march of over 300 miles his army arrived outside Batavia and attempted to take over the city, but were beaten back by the Dutch forces. After finally admitting defeat, the retreating Javanese executed hundreds of their own men for failing to win their objective. The next year

another force was sent. More troops marched to Batavia and a fleet of ships set sail stocked with food to provide the army with supplies. Unfortunately for the Javanese, the Dutch intercepted and destroyed these supply ships before they could reach the rest of the Agung's army outside Batavia. The Javanese troops were defeated by disease and starvation, and again withdrew without having dislodged the Dutch.

Amangkurat I

Sultan Agung died in 1646, leaving his son Amangkurat I as ruler. Amangkurat I needed to consolidate the empire that he had inherited. Pockets of rebellion and discontent had to be crushed. Amangkurat I was hesitant to trust many of those around him, and resorted to harsh punishments to instill loyalty and dispose of his enemies. At one time he ordered several thousand Islamic leaders to assemble at his court and then had them put to death. However, these actions only served to make him lose support.

Amangkurat I allowed trading relations to resume with the VOC. He needed the money that this trade brought to finance his army and to try to maintain control over his kingdom. But he was unable to keep his empire intact, and slowly the local rulers of the areas in the outer reaches of his authority began to break away from his control.

Amangkurat I's own son, the crown prince, was also plotting to defy his father and take over the kingdom. The crown prince's mother was a princess from Surabaya whose family had been killed by Amangkurat I. The young crown prince therefore had little loyalty to his father, and began plotting with a Madurese prince named Trunojaya. Trunojaya's father had been killed by Amangkurat I: naturally Trunojaya and the crown prince shared a common desire for revenge. The crown prince promised to reward Trunojaya if he were able to help him become ruler in place of Amangkurat I.

In 1675 Trunojaya began an outright rebellion against Amangkurat I. His own Madurese troops were joined by Makassarese fighters who had fled to Madura from Sulawesi following the Dutch invasion of Gowa. The rebellion spread along the north coast and Amangkurat asked the VOC for help. The Dutch sent troops against Trunojaya

only after making Amangkurat I promise to pay them for all their expenses. Trunojaya moved inland from Surabaya to escape the Dutch and continued with his campaign.

Having tasted victory and having realized that he had a very real chance of becoming ruler of Java himself, Trunojaya was no longer content to be allied with the crown prince. As the end of the century (by the Javanese calendar) came in 1677, many felt that fate would bring an the end to the rule of Mataram. Trunojaya sacked the royal court as Amangkurat I fled to the north coast, where he died. Trunojaya was poised for victory while his old ally the crown prince was left with no money and no army and no kingdom.

Amangkurat II

The VOC was still willing to continue the fight against Trunojaya. The crown prince proclaimed himself Amangkurat II and agreed to give the Dutch trade monopolies and territory on the north coast and to the south of Batavia in exchange for their support. In 1678 Dutch forces entered Trunojaya's headquarters at Kediri, though Trunojaya managed to escape. The next year, however, he was captured and brought before Amangkurat II, who killed him with a dagger. By 1680 most of the rebellion had been crushed. The only major remaining opponent to Amangkurat II was one of his own brothers, Pangeran Puger, who had been given the royal court by Amangkurat I shortly before his death. Several attempts were required before Pangeran Puger recognized Amangkurat II's authority.

Amangkurat II now established his kraton, or royal palace, at Kartasura. Although he had regained his kingdom, he had made many concessions to the Dutch. Hoping to evade some of the terms of the treaty with the Dutch, Amangkurat II began to assert his independence. He welcomed the renegade Balinese soldier Surapati to his court. Surapati had been a slave in Batavia before he volunteered to fight as a soldier in the VOC army. Later he quarreled with the Dutch troops and became leader of a group of deserters. In 1684 his band killed twenty VOC troops, and, realizing that the Dutch were eager for revenge, Surapati left the region to seek protection at the court of Amangkurat II.

The Dutch were upset that Amangkurat II was sheltering the fugitive Surapati and that he had failed to provide the trade revenues and territory promised from the time of Trunojaya's rebellion. A VOC force under Major Tack was dispatched to Amangkurat II's court, but was cut down by the combined forces of Amangkurat II and Surapati. Tack himself was killed and Surapati fled the city to establish himself in Pasuruhan in eastern Java. Here Surapati reigned until 1706, when he was mortally wounded by Dutch forces. His descendants, however, maintained their authority in the extreme east of Java through the mid 1700's.

Amangkurat II felt threatened by Surapati, who had taken over a portion of his kingdom. The Dutch were reluctant to trust Amangkurat II because of his anti-VOC reputation and his failure to live up to his promises. Nobles from within the court were growing restless and competing with each other for power. Facing troubles from dissent within his kingdom, Amangkurat II died in 1703.

The Javanese Wars of Succession

Ever since Sultan Agung's death the question of who would have enough power to rule over Mataram had been debated among various contestants, often at the point of the sword. Amangkurat I's hold on the kingdom was often enforced through the murder of his opponents. Trunojaya's attempt to seize power had mobilized an island-wide rebellion. Amangkurat II's reign had involved attacks on VOC troops and competition with Surapati, who had forged his own kingdom at the expense of Mataram. Now with the death of Amangkurat II the question of who was to rule Java was again raised. The long period of plotting and rivalry that was to follow led to what is now known as the three Javanese Wars of Succession.

The first war of succession began with Amangkurat II's brother, Pangeran Puger, who was eager to resume his claim to the throne of Mataram. The Dutch supported his claim and provided military force to help him push out his rival, Amangkurat III (the son of Amangkurat II). In 1705 Pangeran Puger was installed at the court of Kartasura, where

he took the new title of Pakubuwono I. But he paid a high price for the VOC support that had helped him acquire the throne. Pakubuwono I had promised to give the Dutch further land, including Cirebon, Semarang, and part of Madura, as well as trade concessions, such as monopolies on opium and textile imports, restrictions on Javanese shipping, and large quantities of free rice.

One of the major forces of opposition came from Amangkurat III, who had fled the court and joined forces with Surapati. In 1708, after three years of struggle, Amangkurat III was captured and deported by the Dutch to Sri Lanka. But resistance continued. In 1717 and 1718 there were rebellions in Surabaya and other areas of eastern Java, as well as in Madura. Pakubuwono I died in 1719, surrounded by disturbances and rebellion.

The second war of succession also involved VOC troops assisting one of the contenders for the throne. Pakubuwono I's son, Amangkurat IV, had few supporters among the Javanese. Several of his brothers rebelled against him, as did some of the descendants of Surapati. The VOC troops were kept busy for four years quelling all the outbreaks of resistance. Most of the fighting occurred in the eastern part of Java.

Amangkurat IV only reigned for seven years. Upon his death in 1726 (which some say was due to poisoning), Amangkurat IV was succeeded by his son Pakubuwono II. Only sixteen years old at the time, Pakubuwono II began his reign on relatively good terms with the Dutch. He renegotiated the by now sizable debt to the VOC and kept up with the promised payments for a number of years until new events led him to change his relationship with the Dutch.

In Batavia tensions and misunderstandings between the Dutch and the Chinese communities had reached a boiling point. After several incidents and many rumors, the Chinese community was attacked and thousands were killed. Fires swept through the Chinese quarter of the town and the VOC did nothing to stop the violence for several days. Bands of Chinese who escaped the slaughter in Batavia started to seek revenge against other VOC posts. An outbreak of terror began to sweep across the north coast of Java, and soon the Dutch were facing open rebellion.

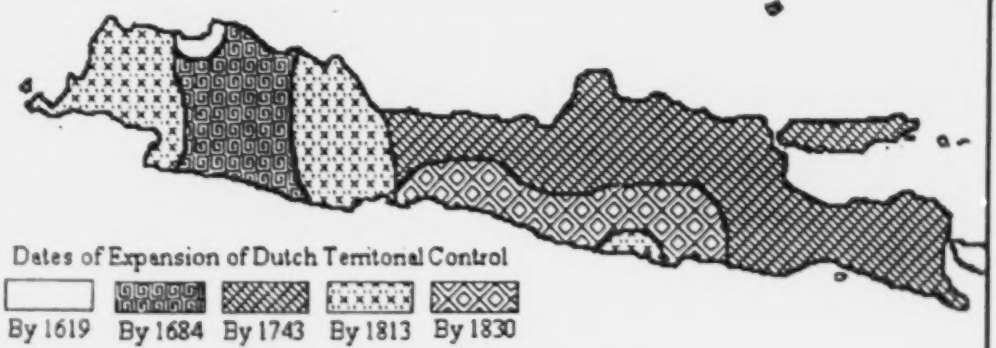
This was the situation in 1741 that forced Pakubuwono II to re-evaluate his connections with the Dutch. He could either help the Dutch or join the Chinese against them. He chose to side with the Chinese, but after determined Dutch attacks against the rebelling forces, the Chinese seemed to be on the losing side. Pakubuwono II tried to get back into favor with the Dutch, who only reluctantly agreed to recognize his authority. The rebellion did not stop, however, and many Javanese were joining the Chinese in the struggle. The rebellion was now directed at Pakubuwono II as well as the VOC. In 1742 the revolt forced Pakubuwono II out from his court in Kartasura. With Dutch and Madurese help he was reinstalled as king, but only after giving away control of the north coast to the Dutch. Four years later Pakubuwono II moved his court to a new site named Surakarta.

Pakubuwono II still faced pockets of rebellion as well as intrigue and mistrust within his court. When Pakubuwono II followed the Dutch Governor-General's recommendation to cancel a reward that had been promised to his brother, Prince Mangkubumi, he unknowingly started a series of events that would lead to the third Javanese war of succession. Prince Mangkubumi was upset that his reward had been abruptly withdrawn and with the fact that it was the Dutch who had been behind the idea. He left the court and started his own revolt against the king. Prince Mangkubumi and his nephew, Mas Said, attacked Surakarta in 1748.

Pakubuwono II fell ill not long afterwards, and just days before his death he turned over control of his kingdom to the Dutch. The rebellion was still active, and the Dutch were not immediately able to take control over all of the kingdom. However they sent troops to help Pakubuwono II's son, who took the throne as Pakubuwono III with Dutch support. The Dutch intended to control Mataram through their influence over Pakubuwono III. By this time Prince Mangkubumi had already installed himself as king in a new court located in Yogyakarta. Mangkubumi's strength grew until his former ally, Mas Said, broke away and became a third contestant for the throne.

By this time all three Javanese leaders and the Dutch were tired of the long and costly war. Negotiations finally resolved the issue in 1755 by dividing the kingdom of Mataram into two segments. Pakubuwono III would rule the eastern part of Java from his

court in Surakarta and Mangkubumi would rule the central portion of Java from Yogyakarta. Mangkubumi assumed a new name, and was hereafter known as Sultan Hamengkubuwono I. Mas Said was eventually given the small court of Mangkanegoro within the city of Surakarta. Finally the long years of war were at an end.



Map 4.4 Growth of Dutch Control in Java

VOC Gains and Losses

By the end of the Javanese wars of succession it might appear that the VOC had achieved tremendous success in extending its hold on the archipelago. All of Java and Madura lay under its control. The important spice producing areas of Maluku and the major trading centers of south Sulawesi and south Sumatra also acknowledged Dutch authority. But this expansion had cost the Dutch enormous amounts of money. The wars in Java and elsewhere had been a major drain on the VOC reserves. The promised payments from Javanese rulers had seldom been completely collected. Increasing corruption from within the VOC also drained potential profit from the company as its officials took advantage of engaging in their own personal trade. As early as 1700 the VOC was already 12 million guilders in debt.

To raise money the directors implemented two types of revenue earning measures. The first was the collection of "contingencies," which were items of tribute that were to be given to the VOC from the areas under its direct control. The second was the collection of "forced deliveries," which were products that the Indonesians had to grow and sell to the Dutch at fixed prices. Needless to say, it was the Dutch who fixed these prices, always to ensure that they could resell the goods at a healthy profit. In addition to spices, the Dutch now looked for other products that were in high demand. They introduced coffee and tea as major export items, and also branched out to other agricultural items such as indigo (the source of a blue dye) and sappanwood (the source of a red dye).

The contingencies and forced deliveries helped add revenue to the depleted VOC treasury, but were not enough to bring the VOC out of its huge deficit. By 1791 the debt had grown to 96 million guilders. The company could no longer afford to pay dividends to its stockholders, and was on the brink of collapse. Events in Europe helped bring the era of the VOC to a close. French forces under Napoleon Bonaparte installed a new pro-French government in the Netherlands in 1795. A year later the 17 Gentlemen of the VOC were dismissed. At midnight on the last day of 1799 the charter of the VOC was allowed to lapse, bringing an end to the once mighty company that had expanded far beyond its means.

Summary

The VOC operated in Indonesia for two centuries. During that time the local rulers responded in a variety of ways. In some areas treaties were agreed upon and a workable relationship evolved, much like the development of diplomatic relations between two countries. In other areas, such as the spice islands and Java, Dutch intervention was more extensive, and ultimately the Dutch gained control of the land and its administration. In still other areas, such as Aceh, the VOC was never in a position to dictate terms to the local rulers. Dutch influence in Indonesia was clearly not everywhere the same.

During this time local leaders came to rise and fall, sometimes taking advantage of alliances with the Dutch to achieve their aims. Arung Palakka was able to use Dutch support to establish himself in Sulawesi. In each of the three Javanese wars of succession the Dutch were used by one of the contending rivals to gain the throne. Dynastic struggles continued in Java much as they had in the past, though the Dutch presence added a new element to the game of power.

The empire of Mataram reached its high point under Sultan Agung at the same time as the VOC was beginning its operations in Indonesia. Gradually the Mataram empire eroded as various revolts challenged the legitimacy of its rulers and as more and more of its land was handed over to the Dutch. This process reached its conclusion at the end of the third Javanese war of succession, at which time the empire was divided into two parts. In reality the Dutch were now in control, and administered affairs through the local leaders. A policy of "divide and rule" by the Dutch had resulted in the fragmentation and weakening of the Mataram empire.

Exercises:

I Multiple Choice:

1) Dutch influence in Indonesia can best be described as

a) effective control of all of Indonesia for 350 years

b) only important in Java

c) early control over limited areas followed by broader control over the archipelago by the early 2oth century

d) minimal

2) In the early 17th century Banten was

a) directly under the control of Sultan Agung of Mataram

b) an important trade center

c) the primary pepper producer of Maluku

d) of no interest to European merchants

3) Under the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, Aceh

a) cultivated friendly relations with the Portuguese

b) welcomed Asian and even English traders

c) began to decline in power and importance

d) resisted the spread of Islam

4) The Dutch waged war against Sultan Hasanuddin of Sulawesi because

a) they feared Hasanuddin's growing military power would be used for an invasion of Batavia

b) they feared a powerful alliance between Hasanuddin and Arung Palaka

c) Dutch attempts to create a monopoly over the spice trade were bound to fail as long as Sulawesi maintined its own trade in spices

d) the Dutch attacked all the Islamic areas of Indonesia in an attempt to promote Christianity

5) The United East India Company (VOC) was

a) only one of many Dutch trading companies doing business in Asia during the mid to late 17th century

b) focussed exclusively on developing trade within the Indonesian islands

c) a powerful private trading group with Dutch governmental authority to make make treaties, wage war, and establish colonies

d) the only European trading company interested in doing business in Indonesia

6) Jakarta used to be known as

a) Sunda Kelapa

b) Jayakerta

c) Batavia

d) all of the above

7) The VOC presence in Maluku during the 17th century

a) brought little change to the region
b) was characterized by peaceful relations with the local population
c) often involved harsh policies and the use of military force
d) did not last as long as the English presence there

8) The powerful leader of Mataram who gained control of most of Java and led two major attacks against the Dutch in Batavia was

a) Sultan Agung
b) Senapati
c) Amangkurat I
d) none of the above

9) The Madurese prince Trunojaya

a) helped plot against Amangkurat I
b) was supported by the Dutch
c) created his own kingdom in Pasuruhan
d) all of the above

10) The three Javanese wars of succession

a) all involved Dutch military participation
b) ended with the division of the Mataram empire
c) resulted in increasing consessions of land, money, and trade rights to the Dutch
d) all of the above

II Essay Topics:

1) Compare and contrast the lives of Surapati and Trunojaya.

2) Describe how the Dutch presence influenced events in Java during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

3) Compare the Dutch presence in Indonesia under the VOC with the Portuguese presence there during the sixteenth century.

III Class Presentations:

Of all the people mentioned in this chapter, pick the one who you most wish you could have been. Note all your reasons for choosing this figure and make a short (1-3 min.) presentation to the class explaining your choice and outlining the accomplishments of your character. After all presentations have been made determine which historical figure received the highest number of admirers.

IV Match the Columns:

Choose the description that best matches each of the famous figures listed below. Place the letter from the correct description in the space provided next to each number.

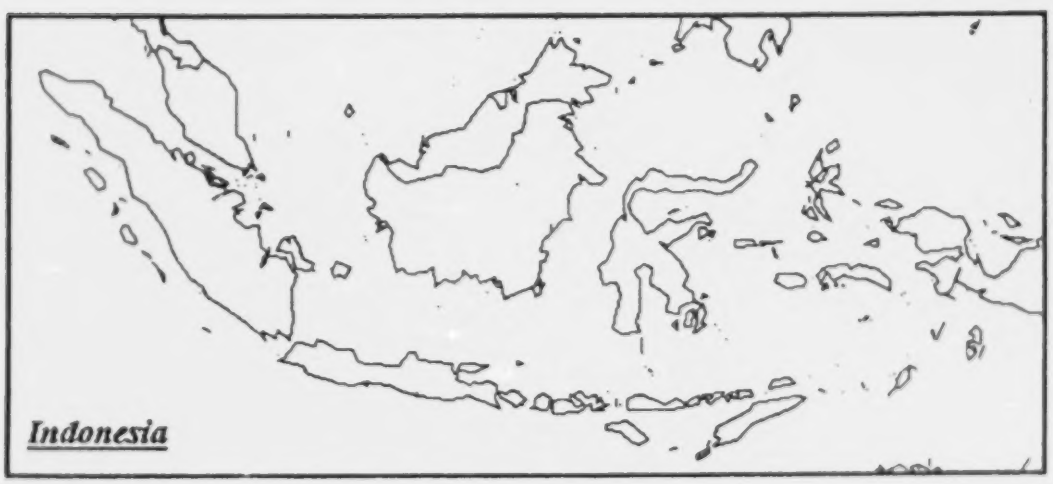
1) ___ Arung Palakka	A) Dutch Governor-General who founded Batavia and who drove the Bandanese from their islands
2) ___ Sultan Agung	B) One of three contestants in the third Javanese wars of succession. He later took the name Hamengkubuwono I and ruled central Java from his court in Yogyakarta
3) ___ Jan Pieterszoon Coen	C) The leader who united most of Java under his rule in the early 1600's
4) ___ Sultan Iskandar Muda	D) The man who rose from beinga a slave and then a soldier under the Dutch to become a rebel leader who assisted Amangkurat II and who later established his own territory in east Java
5) ___ Sultan Hasanuddin	E) The ruler of Mataram who was the son of Sultan Agung. Later his own son plotted against him
6) ___ Kakiali	F) The Madurese prince who first assisted and then fought against Amangkurat II
7) ___ Amangkurat I	G) The sultan of Gowa who resisted Dutch attempts to restrict Makassar's spice trade
8) ___ Trunojaya	H) Ruler of Aceh who took control of many areas in northern Sumatra and on the Malay peninsula but failed in his many attempts to take Melaka
9) ___ Surapati	I) The Muslim leader from Hitu who led a resistance movement against Dutch presence in Maluku
10) ___ Prince Mangkubumi	J) The Buginese general who assisted the Dutch in their fight against Sultan Hasanuddin

250

V Map Knowledge

Identify the places described below and label them on the accompanying map. Write the number of the corresponding question in brackets following each place name.

1) The major kingdom of West Java that resisted Sultan Agung's attempts to rule all of Java.
2) The VOC headquarters formerly known as Sunda Kelapa.
3) The East Javanese empire that maintained its independence despite Sultan Agung's attacks.
4) The major Javanese port that Sultan Agung only captured after a long seige by cutting off its water supply.
5) The kingdom centered in the north of Sumatra that also controlled areas of the Malay peninsula.
6) The area whose entire population was killed or driven off by Dutch attacks led by Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Later known as a site of the dreaded Dutch "hongi" raids.
7) The center of the Makassarese kingdom in southern Sulawesi.
8) The center of the Bugis kingdom (rivals to the Makassarese).
9) The site of the 1623 "massacre" of English and other foreign merchants by the Dutch.
10) The center of the pepper-producing area of southern Sumatra which was attacked by the Dutch in 1659.



VI Creative Writing:

1) You are Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh. Sir James Lancaster has just visited you at your court and has given you a letter from Queen Elizabeth I of England requesting friendly relations and free trade.

   Write a reply to the Queen's letter. Aside from answering her requests, include details of your accomplishments as Sultan. You may wish to include comments on the power of your army, the wealth of your court, the extent of the land under your control, and the fame of your capital city as an international trading port.

2) On a cold foggy morning in 1625 you find yourself standing once again on the docks of London. For the past fifteen years you have been working with the English East India Company and you have just returned home. During your time away you worked at the English trading lodge in Banten, sailed with Captain John Jourdain to Maluku, and took part in the seige of Jayakerta against the Dutch.

   Describe your adventures to the friends and family who have come to meet you. Include details about the rivalry between the Dutch and the English and give examples of how the Dutch seem to be expanding their power.

CHAPTER 5

DUTCH COLONIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM: 1800-1940

Beginnings of the Dutch Colonial Government

The death of the VOC did not mean the end of the Dutch presence in Indonesia. The Dutch government assumed responsibility for all VOC possessions and thus formally began to rule Indonesia as a Dutch colony. In some ways things remained much the same for the Indonesians who found themselves either under Dutch domination or under the threat of it. The Dutch were still firmly in control in Java. The presence of Dutch government officials in Indonesia did however lead to a centralization of Dutch administration. The man who spearheaded this process was Herman Willem Daendels.

Daendels was sent to Indonesia as Governor-General by the new king of the Netherlands, Louis Napoleon (younger brother of Napoleon Bonaparte). The Netherlands had been taken over by France during the Napoleonic wars, and naturally the new French-backed government in the Netherlands assumed control of all Dutch colonies. The French were still fighting the British, and when Daendels was sent to Indonesia one of his primary missions was to guard against possible British attempts to take over the colony. In an action symbolic of the new change in administration, the crumbling old VOC fort in Batavia was dismantled and its stones used to build a new and sturdier structure further from the port.

To further strengthen the Dutch position in Indonesia Daendels sponsored the building of new fortifications, barracks, and an ammunition factory. He recruited and trained Indonesian soldiers to supplement the European army. The defense works of Batavia and Surabaya were greatly improved.

One of Daendels' more ambitious projects was to build a highway of some 1000 kilometers across the north coast of Java all the way from Banten to Pasuruan, thus greatly shortening the time it took to cross the length of Java. This reduction in the communication and transportation time was of strategic importance, and helped strengthen Dutch ability to defend Java. However it was achieved only at great cost in human life. Thousands of Javanese were forced to work on the project and many died. Daendels' continual demands on the local rulers for more laborers led to hardship and resentment.

Daendels also upset many people by his determination to reform many of the old ways of administering Dutch territory in the archipelago. He cut down on the corruption which had lined the pockets of many Dutch officials and Indonesian leaders. Naturally the people who had benefited from the old corrupt ways were upset to lose this source of revenue.

A new legal system was instituted which created separate legal facilities for the Indonesians and non-Indonesians. The Indonesians were to be tried for crimes according to their adat, the local set of rules and customs that guided traditional society. The Europeans were to have Western style courts and follow Dutch laws.

Daendels also changed the relationship between the local rulers and the Dutch. Previously the Indonesian rulers had been recognized as leaders of their communities with a certain degree of independence in how they dealt with local matters, and the Dutch agents had been regarded as representatives of a powerful yet separate foreign government. Daendels changed this by making the local rulers officials within the Dutch government. This changed their status within the local community for the worse. By receiving their salaries and positions directly from the colonial administration, the local rulers came to be seen as agents of the hated Dutch. Furthermore the Dutch no longer viewed the local rulers as nobility (with all the respect and dignity that must be paid to people of that rank), but rather as bureaucratic officials. The Dutch residents were now called ministers, and were viewed as direct representatives of the central authority in Batavia. Dutch administration in Java was becoming more direct, more thorough, and, for the Indonesians, more meddlesome.

Some local rulers opposed this new state of affairs, though Daendels was quick to reassert his authority over them. Following ill will over Dutch demands for more forced labor units, several Dutch troops in Banten were killed. Daendels, a man with a long record of military service, personally led a Dutch force to take over the city and arrest the Sultan, who was then exiled to Ambon. When a revolt was launched in the outer areas of the regions controlled by Sultan Hamengkubuwono II, it was quickly suppressed and the sultan was forced to step down and let his son (Hamengkubuwono III) assume the throne.

Daendels' role as a reformer had irritated many people, and there is still some controversy as to whether his accomplishments should be viewed in a positive or negative light. As his time as Governor-General proceeded his enemies became more vocal. He was also unable to balance the budget of his administration, though he tried to increase revenue through encouraging the forced cultivation of coffee, selling public land, and imposing a government monopoly on the sale of rice. In May 1811 he was replaced by Jan Janssens.

The British Seize Control

Jan Janssens had previously been stationed in South Africa, which he had been forced to surrender to the British. Within months of his arrival in Batavia the unfortunate Janssens was forced to repeat history by again surrendering his command to the British. A naval force under Lord Minto arrived in Batavia in August of 1811 and in under two months succeeded in taking over control of the island. The British had already taken over territory in the outer Indonesian islands at an earlier date: in 1795 they took Padang on the west coast of Sumatra, and in the following year they took Ambon.

The British had gained control of the Indonesian islands with the cooperation of the exiled Dutch King William V, who fled the Netherlands in 1795 when the French invaded his country and installed a new government. William V traveled to England, then at war with France, where he agreed to let the English take over the Dutch colonies for safekeeping. The English agreed that the colonies would be given back to the Netherlands as soon as France was defeated and William V was reinstalled as king.

The English chose a talented and energetic young man named Thomas Stamford Raffles to take control of their newly gained possessions in the archipelago. Like Daendels before him, Raffles was ready to reform many parts of the old administration. Raffles also had a deep interest in the language, religion, culture, and beliefs of the Indonesian people, as well as a keen scientific interest in the fauna and flora of islands. Many of his reforms were meant to increase the welfare of the Javanese peasants, though they did not always succeed as well as originally hoped for.

One major innovation was the introduction of a system of land rent. Raffles tried to abolish the system of contingencies and forced deliveries of fixed amounts of agricultural products (though for financial reasons the delivery of coffee in the western part of the island had to be continued). In its place each village would deliver to the government an average of two fifths of the produce from its lands (the exact percentage of the crop to be given would vary from one half to one quarter of the total depending on the quality of the land). Farmers would be able to pay the rent in cash or in the form of the actual produce from the land. Allowing non-cash payment was designed to prevent farmers from having to borrow money at the high rates charged by money lenders.

Administrative reform was carried out by dividing the land into residencies, each of which were headed by Residents responsible for their area of land and the people who lived there. Raffles continued Daendels' policy of direct colonial administration.

Reform was also imposed on the judicial system. Raffles introduced the concept of trial by jury to replace the previous system in which cases were heard by a panel of judges. He also abolished torture as a legal punishment.

More humanitarian reform was extended in the form of smallpox vaccinations. Gambling houses were abolished. Measures to limit slavery were imposed by forbidding the importation of new slaves and by imposing a tax for the existing slave-owners.

Despite his interest in the welfare of the people of Indonesia, Raffles was not afraid to move with an iron hand to keep his position of authority. When the British attempted to take over the former Dutch post at Palembang, they were informed that they had no authority there, since Palembang had succeeded in becoming independent by killing all the Dutch there before the British took control from the Dutch in Java. Ironically, while the

English were preparing to invade Indonesia, Raffles had indeed urged the sultan of Palembang (and several other sultans throughout Indonesia) to revolt against the Dutch. Raffles had hoped that local opposition to the Dutch would make it easier for the British to take control. Now his plan had backfired and he had to send a military expedition to seize Palembang.

Another show of force took place within Java in response to the discovery of a secret exchange of letters between the royal courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Hamengkubuwono II (who had been deposed by the Dutch) had reinstalled himself as ruler in Yogyakarta shortly after the British had arrived. He soon proved to be uncooperative towards the British. Then letters were uncovered from the Surakartan court which hinted at giving Hamengkubuwono II support for an uprising against the English. At this point, in June 1812, Raffles sent a combined force of 2000 English, Indian and Indonesian troops to capture Yogyakarta and its sultan. The troops looted the court, including the treasury, and Hamengkubuwono II was sent into exile in Penang.

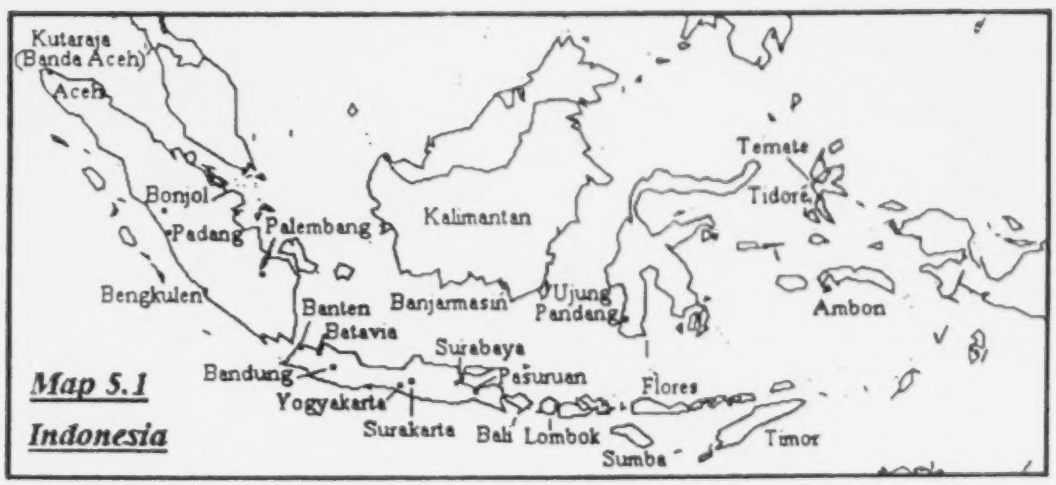
Raffles' time in Indonesia was limited. He did not have enough time to put into place all the reforms that he had planned, and in some cases he achieved only partial success. He had hoped to completely abolish slavery, but had to be content with imposing limitations and restrictions. His land rent policy was implemented without the proper survey which was needed to determine the quality of the various pieces of land, and thus determine the actual rate of tax. Yet in other areas he had made notable improvements, and had demonstrated a concern for the welfare of the local population and a desire to enforce a rational system of administration.

Raffles hoped to build on his early efforts and tried to persuade the British government to maintain at least part of its control in the archipelago. However the English decided to honor their commitment to return the colony to the Dutch at the end of the Napoleonic war, and Raffles was relieved of his duty as Lieutenant-Governor shortly before the transfer took place. Later Raffles went elsewhere to continue his empire building activities -- his next major achievement was to found the city of Singapore.

The Dutch Regain their Colonies and Extend Control

When the English and the Dutch agreed to transfer the ownership of the colonies in Indonesia they did not, of course, include the Indonesians in the discussions. From the Indonesian perspective European control had been uneven throughout the islands and continued to be that way following the formal return to power of the Dutch in 1816.

Many local rulers took the opportunity to maintain as much independence as possible and to resist any further encroachment of their authority. In Java the Europeans had clearly imposed a high degree of control, but in many of the outer islands the Dutch presence had dwindled following the collapse of the VOC. Kalimantan, for example, had very little contact with the Dutch, and much of Sumatra had never been under direct Dutch rule. Thus the Dutch found that they were returning to a land where they would often have to fight to establish themselves as master. This section will examine the new stresses and strains between the Dutch and the Indonesians: attention will be paid first to Java and then to the outer islands.



Dutch Governor-General van der Capellen took over from the English, and maintained many of the reforms that Raffles had implemented, such as the land rent, the ban on slavery, and the system of using residencies (which were further subdivided into

districts, divisions, and villages) as the main administrative unit. But whereas the two reformers, Daendels and Raffles, had tried to incorporate the Indonesian royal elite into the government bureaucracy, the Dutch now reverted to the older style of interaction with the local rulers. The Dutch still maintained Residents who had the real power to enforce Dutch demands, but their relationship to the local ruler was ordered to be like that of an older brother to a younger brother. In other words the Dutch Resident would "advise" the local ruler, who was able to appear to maintain some degree of independence from the Dutch administration, but who also knew perfectly well that he had little choice but to accept the "advice" of the Dutch Resident.

Dutch control of Java did not guarantee the Dutch any financial success. Despite the increased income from the land rent system and the continued revenue from the forced production of coffee, van der Capellen was faced with an overall deficit in the colony. This was not a new problem. The VOC had been unable to make a profit during most of its final decades, and neither Raffles nor Daendels before him had been able balance their books. In 1825 van der Capellen was ordered home. However his departure was delayed by the beginning of one of the most serious revolts against Dutch rule ever to occur in Java.

Diponegoro and The Java War

Javanese resentment against the Dutch had been fueled by burdensome taxes, toll payments, continued corruption, and interference in the Javanese courts. Van der Capellen had tried to cut down on corruption and to safeguard Indonesians against losing their land, but some of his schemes backfired. In 1823 he had tried to limit corruption and abuse in the practice of leasing Indonesian lands to Europeans by banning all such leases. All those who had paid in advance for their leases were to be refunded by the owners of the land. This move was highly unpopular, since many of the landowners had already spent the money that had been given to them in advance for the use of their land, and therefore had no way to refund the rent. Discontent continued to grow.

In the previous few years several small, local uprisings had already taken place. The rice harvest of 1821 was very poor, leading to increased hardship. The sultan of Yogyakarta died in 1822, the same year in which nearby Mount Merapi erupted. Some felt these were omens of impending change. In this highly charged atmosphere all that was needed to start a revolt was the right leader.

Diponegoro was the eldest son of Sultan Hamengkubuwono III. When Hamengkubuwono III died in 1814, the right of succession passed over Diponegoro to his younger half-brother Jarot. This was in accordance with tradition, since Diponegoro's mother had not been a queen, whereas Jarot's mother was of royal blood. Nevertheless, Thomas Raffles assured Diponegoro that he would have the right to the throne upon Jarot's death. The Dutch who replaced Raffles may not have been aware of this promise, for they installed Jarot's infant son as the sultan when Jarot died in 1822. Thus Diponegoro lost his chance to claim the throne. In 1825, when the Dutch built a road through his land near the sight of a sacred tomb, Diponegoro finally decided that he had had enough of the Dutch. He gathered an army of loyal followers and began the conflict that came to be known as the Java War.

Diponegoro:

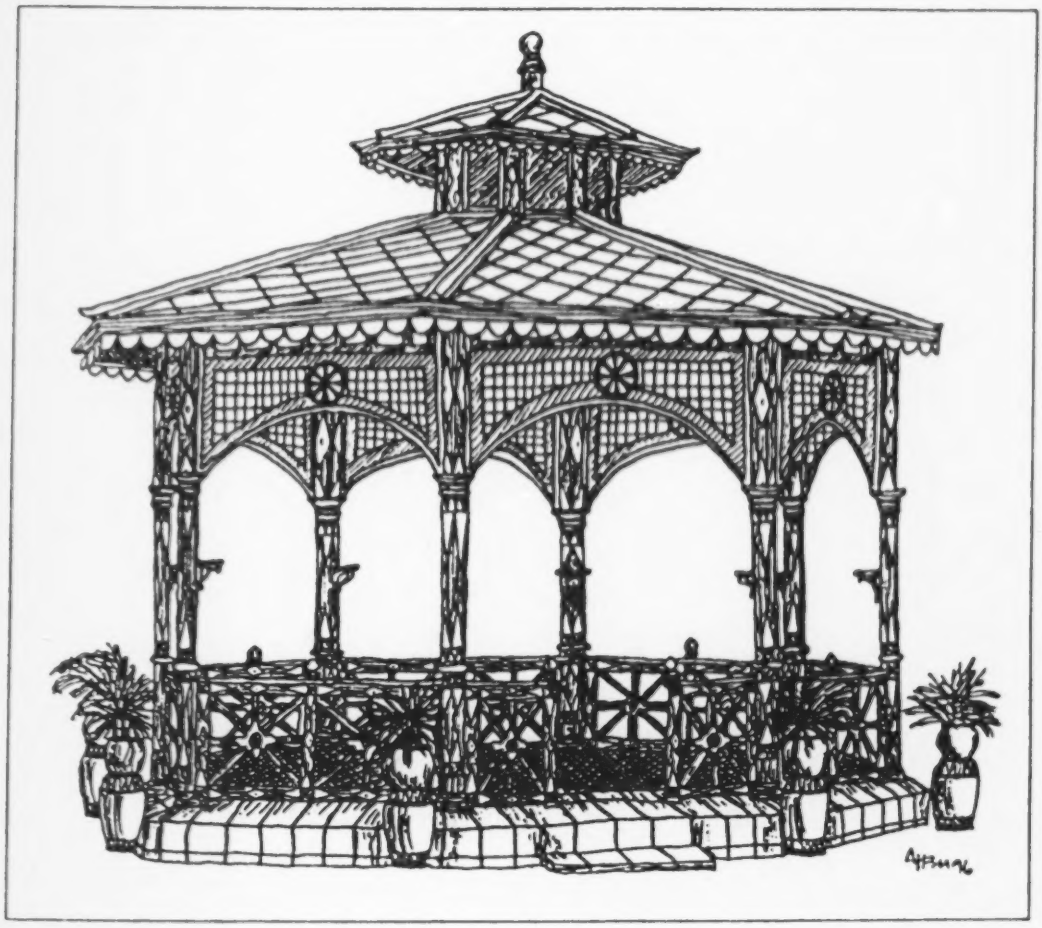
Prince Diponegoro was the man who seemed destined to fill the role of the "Ratu Adil", the "Just King" that Javanese tradition claimed would return to lead his people into a new age.

As a young man he had spent much time in meditation and in the study of Islam. During a pilgrimage he claimed to have heard a voice prophesy that he would be a future leader of Java. Later he had a vision that the Goddess of the South Sea came to him to offer her support.

As a charismatic leader he earned the support of many Javanese due partly to his noble blood and partly to his devotion to Islam. He was able to gather a following that would fight against the Dutch for five long years.

Diponegoro was supported by roughly half of the princes and bupatis (lesser nobles who controlled smaller parcels of land) around Yogyakarta. His reputation as a mystic and defender of Islam gave him the mass support he needed to raise an army and

take on the Dutch. He concentrated on using guerrilla tactics and imposed considerable hardship on the Dutch regiments sent against him. As the years dragged on, however, he was unable to defeat the combined Dutch and Madurese forces that took up positions in central Java. In 1829 his main commander surrendered, and in the following year Diponegoro himself entered into negotiations with the Dutch. He was quickly deported to Sulawesi, where he died in exile in 1855.



Though Diponegoro had been defeated, the Java War had been a tremendous drain of resources for the Dutch. The war had cost the Dutch at least 20 million guilders and the lives of 8,000 of their own troops and 7,000 of their Indonesian allies. Yet the toll on the

Javanese side was much higher: an estimated 200,000 had died due to combat, starvation, or disease.

The end of the Java War symbolized the end of any major Javanese threat to the Dutch for the rest of the century. The Dutch took direct control of the outlying lands that had belonged to the royal courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The ruler of Surakarta was exiled to Ambon for fear that he might start another rebellion. With reduced land and a watchful Dutch "older brother" always nearby, the Javanese nobility were in no position to offer any further serious resistance.

The Cultivation System

The tremendous cost of the Java war had created grave financial difficulties for the Dutch. At the same time as the Java War was being fought, the Dutch were also involved in the Padri War in Sumatra, and back in Europe a part of the Netherlands had just broken away to form the independent country of Belgium. The total effect of all these armed conflicts put the Dutch treasury further and further into debt. The new Governor-General to the Indies, Johannes van den Bosch, was under pressure to finally make a profit from the colonies. His plan to achieve this goal was called the "Cultivation System."

The cultivation system was originally seen as a replacement to the land rent system. Twenty percent of each village's land was to be reserved for cultivating crops for the government. The farmers would be required to spend as much time cultivating these government crops as they would have spent if they had planted rice there (this was calculated at about 66 days per year). The Dutch would determine which crops would be grown, and would pay the farmers if the value of the crops grown exceeded the amount due under the old land rent system. The government would bear the loss if all or part of the crops were lost for reasons beyond the control of the farmers (e.g. in case of flood, drought, or blight).

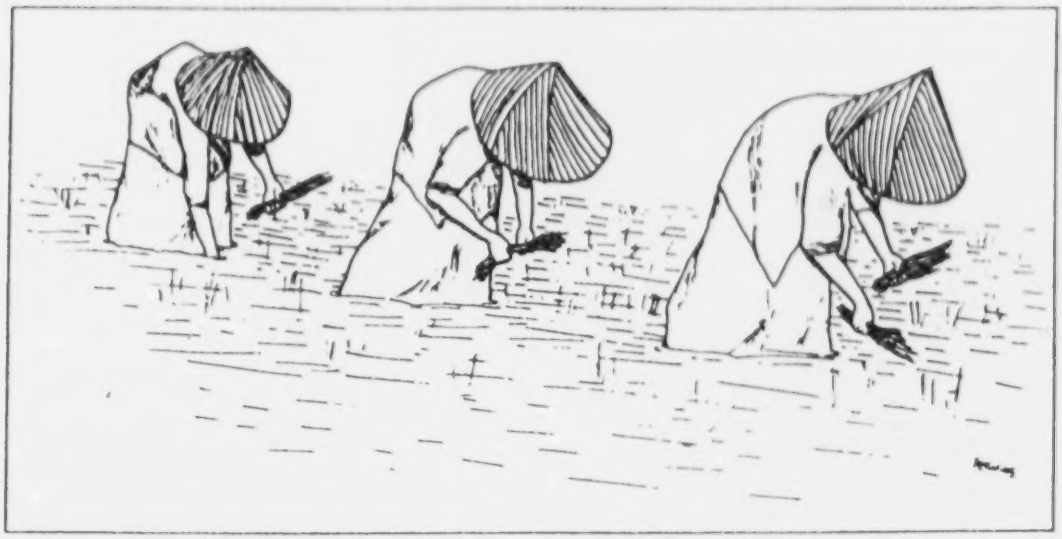
In theory the system sounds less burdensome than the old land rent it replaced (recall that the land rent required paying an average of two fifths of the produce of the

land while the cultivation system required only one fifth). In practice, however, the cultivation system produced extreme hardship in many areas, primarily because it was not implemented according to its original guidelines. Abuses of the system lead to higher and higher demands on the village farmer. The effect of the cultivation system was uneven, since not all areas were under the system at the same time, but in those areas in which it was enforced the Dutch reaped great profits while the Javanese often suffered poverty and famine.

The Cultivation System	
In Theory	**In Practice**
* System meant to replace land rent payments.	* Land rent often paid in addition to crops from cultivation system.
* Labor requirement under the system to be limited to 66 days per year for each farmer.	* Labor for some crops require 90 or more days. (Forced labor for government projects required additional time.)
* One fifth of land meant to be allocated to government crops.	* Up to one third or one half of land sometimes required for system.
* Local officials trusted with collection of produce and expected to act honestly and efficiently.	* Local officials abuse the system by demanding extra production and skimming excess for personal profit.
* Government to bear the loss of crop failure for events beyond farmer's control, such as drought or flood.	* Government refused to bear loss of crop even if bad harvest was due to natural causes.

The cultivation system hit hardest in those areas selected for crops such as sugar and indigo, which require substantial amounts of time and labor. When the government also required additional labor for building roads, the total time spent working for the government could reach 200 days per year, forcing the villagers to neglect rice production for themselves. Starvation resulted during the 1840s in several areas of north and central Java.

The system was immensely profitable for the Dutch. Soon they had paid off millions guilders to cover all of the old VOC debts as well as the costs for the Java War and the Belgian Rebellion. As money continued to pour in, the profits were also used to finance a state railway system in the Netherlands. In the years from 1831 to 1877 the Dutch government was estimated to have received 832 million guilders from its colonies in the Indies. Finally the Dutch had found a way to make the colony profitable.



The Liberal Period (1870-1900)

The cost of the cultivation system in terms of human suffering eventually lead to cries for reform. In 1860 Edward Douwes Dekker published the book *Max Havelaar* under the pen name "Multatuli." This book described the terrible conditions that accompanied the implementation of the cultivation system. Some have compared it with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in terms of its impact in publicizing and criticizing a major social problem.

Voices for change also came from proponents of the new "liberal" school of thought that was becoming popular in Europe. In this context the word "liberal" mostly signifies a commitment to the principle of private enterprise. Supporters argued that a free

capitalist system would provide the maximum benefit to society. Rather than continue a government controlled system that monopolized key products, the market should be opened up to private individuals. Beginning in the 1860s the cultivation system was gradually phased out, but delivery of the most profitable crop, coffee, was kept until 1917.

Thus reform came about largely through the combined efforts of individuals who were genuinely interested in helping the welfare of the Javanese peasant and individuals who were simply interested in gaining economic access to part of the Indies market. As can be imagined, this combination produced mixed results. European private enterprise rose dramatically during this period. Immigration from the Netherlands to the Indies also increased as more individuals came to seek their fortune in the new private estates and plantations. Increased attention was paid to the outer islands, where rubber and oil became major new sources of wealth. But the plight of the Javanese peasant was probably much the same as it had been earlier. They still had to pay land rent, and conditions working on a private estate might be little different from working to grow crops for the government. And for the Indonesians in the outer islands, the increased European presence was not a welcome change.

The Outer Islands

When the Dutch regained their colonies from the British in 1816 they continued to make Java the emphasis of their colonial administration. The tragedy of the Java War and the success (for the Dutch) of the cultivation system served to keep their focus mainly on Java. But the Dutch gradually expanded their power throughout the outer islands. In some places they had to struggle to regain their former territory. In other places they spread into areas never before under their command.

Ambon had been the site of one of the earliest Dutch outposts in the Indies. But as soon as the Dutch regained their colonies from the British they faced an uprising from a Christian Ambonese named Thomas Matulesia, better known in Indonesian history as Pattimura. The Pattimura rebellion of 1817 started with an attack on the Dutch fort on

Sapurua Island (near Ambon). All the Dutch in the fort were killed, save for one young boy. After several more victories Pattimura was eventually captured and hanged. The heroism of the Ambonese is commemorated in such figures as Christina Martha. At the age of only 16, she followed her father into battle and fought alongside the rest of the soldiers. She and her father, an important leader of the Ambonese, were finally arrested. After her father was executed Christina refused to eat or drink, and died while aboard a Dutch ship transporting her away from Ambon.

In contrast to Ambon, Bali had received comparatively little attention over the centuries from the Dutch. An expedition was sent there in 1846, but there was little change in the daily life for the average Balinese. It was not until 1906 that the Dutch forced their way into direct control of the island. The Dutch sent in a large, well-armed force that the Balinese could never hope to defeat. Rather than surrender, the Balinese nobles gathered together in ceremonial costume and, armed only with daggers and spears, marched straight into the gunfire of the Dutch troops. It was a ritual act of suicide known as the *puputan*, or final battle. Virtually the entire royal court of that part of the island was wiped out in the massacre. In 1908 this *puputan* was repeated by another royal family, and Balinese resistance was over.

The nearby island of Lombok had already been subdued by the time of the fall of Bali. The Dutch had intervened on the side of the local Sasaks, who were rebelling against the Balinese who controlled most of the island. The first Dutch attack of 1894 failed to defeat the Balinese army, but with more reinforcements they eventually achieved victory. The story was similar in many of the other islands of Nusa Tenggara. Dutch expeditions were sent to Flores, Sumbawa, Sumba, and other islands of the group, and only achieved control of the area by the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century.

To the north, the Dutch attempted to re-establish themselves in Sulawesi. In the previous century the Bugis warrior Arung Palakka had helped the Dutch gain power in Makassar, and had assumed the throne of Bone. But in 1824 the Queen of Bone refused to recognize Dutch authority, and succeeded in several attacks against nearby Dutch fortifications. The Dutch replied with their own attacks, but the outbreak of the Java War in 1825 prevented them from pursuing matters further. Several other expeditions were

required after the Java War to establish Dutch control, and the final end to Bugis and Makassarese resistance came only in 1906.

Kalimantan (southern Borneo) was the site of the Banjarmasin War (1859-1863). Resentment to Dutch interference in the choice of a new sultan prompted a prince to start a rebellion. The rebel forces attacked not only Dutch administrative offices but also a Dutch owned coal mine. Coal was becoming a major export from Kalimantan, and was seen as a new source of wealth as the deposits of gold that had enticed many Chinese to Borneo were gradually depleted.

Sumatra was the site of the most serious organized opposition to European rule, keeping the Dutch in a state of war for a total of nearly fifty years. Resistance occurred in Palembang and Jambi in the south, in the Minangkabau area of central Sumatra, and in Aceh to the north.

Palembang, which had managed to defeat the Dutch and put up stiff resistance to the British, once more resisted European domination. A Dutch force sent in 1819 was able to capture the nearby island of Bangka, but returned to Batavia after failing to take Palembang. A larger force accomplished the task in 1821 but fighting broke out again in 1823, and it was 1825 before the sultan who had fled into the interior was captured and exiled.

In 1858 the Dutch attacked Ratu Saifuddin of Jambi for refusing to sign a treaty. Saifuddin, along with his supporters, was able to maintain armed resistance from the interior until he was shot by members of a Dutch patrol in 1904. Shortly thereafter, in 1910 Alam Bidar led a small uprising but was also killed by the Dutch. In 1916 the Dutch killed 400 rebels in the Jambi district who were protesting forced labor and high taxes.

The two most serious challenges to Dutch authority in Sumatra were contested in the Padri War and the Aceh War. The Padri War took place in the Minangkabau region from 1821 to 1837. It began as a conflict between local Minangkabau who (despite being Muslim) followed the traditional *adat*, or customs, and a group of Minangkabau who felt that their society should be reformed to more closely follow the teachings of Islam. Those advocating a strict adherence to an Islamic way of life came to be known as the Padri. Most of these people had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and had been influenced by ideas

of Islamic reform that they had encountered there. When they returned to Sumatra they realized that certain characteristics of their local society, such as gambling, drinking, smoking, and the matriarchal laws governing inheritance, were contrary to Islam.

Soon a group of Padri known as the "Eight Tigers" was formed and attempted to enforce stricter observance of Islam among the villagers and townspeople. Conflict between the Padri and the local rulers escalated towards violence and in 1823 the local rulers formally requested Dutch help in maintaining their position of authority. The Dutch moved in against the Padri, pushing them north to the city of Bonjol. The leader of the Padri, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, resisted Dutch attempts to take over the city for more than a decade. Involvement in the Java War interrupted Dutch enthusiasm for the dealing with the Padri, and it was not until 1837 that the city of Bonjol was finally captured, and the Padri rebellion defeated.

The war in Aceh lasted even longer than the Padri War. Aceh had long remained independent of Dutch control. The British had for many years retained some influence in Sumatra from their tiny west coast base at Bengkulen, but when they finally signed away the rights to Bengkulen to the Dutch in the Treaty of London in 1824, they forced the Dutch to respect Acehnese independence. Aceh was at this point still a major pepper producer and did a brisk trade with British, French, and American merchants.

In 1871 the British and the Dutch signed several new treaties that re-evaluated their positions of world power. As though engaged in a gigantic imperialist chess game, they traded various rights and concessions with each other that affected their colonies on three different continents. As one result, the British no longer insisted that the Netherlands respect Aceh's independence.

The Dutch wasted little time in sending in their army. They had already long been irritated with the continuous piracy that endangered European shipping off Aceh's coast. When they heard rumors that the Acehnese had engaged in talks with the American consul in Singapore the Dutch feared that the Americans might move to gain more influence in the region. In 1873 the Dutch sent an expedition of 3,000 soldiers to take over the capital at Kutaraja. Later that year another, larger force was sent in.

The Dutch succeeded in occupying the Acehnese capital. The sultan and the rest of the Acehnese army were forced to retreat into the interior. When the sultan died of cholera the Dutch assumed that the war was over. They were completely wrong.

The Acehnese continued to organize resistance from their inland positions and constantly conducted guerrilla raids to harass the Dutch. Another major offensive was launched by the Dutch in 1878. Though the Dutch captured a lot of territory, the Acehnese simply moved back to continue their opposition from behind new lines.

Dutch tactics were brutal. In one five month expedition a Dutch force killed 2,900 people including over 1,000 women and children. Disease was equally deadly, and was a major problem that affected both sides. But the Acehnese continued their campaign with fierce determination. An apparent setback for the Acehnese occurred when a prominent leader, Teuku Umar, joined forces with the Dutch. But after a short period of cooperation during which he and his soldiers became well supplied with arms, Teuku Umar rejoined the Acehnese forces against the Dutch. Teuku Umar continued fighting the Dutch until he was shot by a patrol in 1899. His wife, Cut Nya Dien, continued to lead a group of the rebel forces for many years. Today she is regarded as a hero for the courage and sacrifice that she displayed in her resistance to Dutch colonial rule.

It is hard to say exactly when the Aceh War ended, for there were many separate groups of Acehnese that took part in the resistance effort. By 1903 many of the major chiefs had surrendered, but pockets of resistance remained and Aceh was kept under martial law by the Dutch until 1918. The Aceh War had claimed more casualties for the Dutch than any other war that they had waged in the Indies. The Indonesian people had once more demonstrated that they would not easily turn over their independence.

The numerous examples of resistance described above illustrate the widespread opposition that the Dutch encountered during the course of their colonization of the Indies. Though they had begun their occupation at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was not until three centuries later that they established control over the territory that would come to form the country of Indonesia.

The Nationalist Movement

Resistance to Dutch rule prior to 1900 had not been a coordinated effort throughout the archipelago. As shown above, the opposition had been waged at different times by different ethnic groups. The Acehnese, Balinese, Bugis, Javanese, Sundanese, and other groups had each been fighting for their own independence, not for the independence of all of the Indies. But as the twentieth century began events took place that encouraged all those who lived in the Indies to think of themselves as a united group with a common goal of driving out the Dutch and establishing a single independent country: Indonesia.

Several external events influenced this way of thinking. Examples of other Asian resistance to European rule served as inspiration to the Indonesians. To the north the Filipinos were fighting with the Americans to overthrow their colonial masters of more than 300 years, the Spanish (though the Americans were to take over the role of colonial power for another fifty years). The Japanese were able to defeat the Russians in 1905. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 demonstrated Chinese desire to throw off foreign domination and the revolution of 1911 symbolized the effort to unite the Chinese and take charge of their own destiny.

Internal changes within the Indies also set the stage for the development of a nationalist spirit. At the most basic level, the Dutch expansion which led to control of the archipelago was finally complete in the early years of the twentieth century. This gave the colony its final geographic boundaries and provided a common enemy to unite all the people living within. Implementation of a uniform, centralized Dutch control bound the various islands into a single system of administration. The use of Malay as a language of administration promoted a common means of communication among the various ethnic groups.

Increasing exposure to Western ideals and education, though limited to the elite, led many of the future leaders of Indonesian nationalism to question the right of the Dutch to maintain their position as colonial masters. They pointed out the double standard that the Europeans maintained in demanding political and civil liberties for themselves while withholding these same rights to the people in their colonies. Inspired by events in

European history such as the French and American revolutions, the Indonesians began to seek the same degree of freedom, independence and democracy that the Europeans had claimed as "basic rights." The introduction of the education that led to these points of view was largely made possible by the establishment of the ethical policy.

The Ethical Policy (1900-1930)

By the end of the nineteenth century the Dutch were also beginning to question their role in the Indies. The poor living conditions of the Javanese peasant and the Sumatran plantation worker motivated some Dutchmen to advocate a more humane policy in the Indies. In 1899 a Dutch lawyer, van Deventer, published an influential article entitled "*A Debt of Honor.*" Van Deventer advocated repaying the millions of guilders in profits that had been sent to the Netherlands by introducing programs to benefit the welfare of the people in the Indies. Many agreed with him that from a humanitarian point of view the Dutch should do more to provide better conditions in the colonies.

Other Dutch agreed that the living conditions of the Indonesian should be raised because they hoped to sell more goods to the Indonesian market, and therefore needed a population that could afford to buy their products. Thus supporters of the Ethical Policy could be divided into those who were motivated by humanitarian reasons and those who primarily had economic self-interest as their objective (just as had been the case with supporters of reform during the Liberal Period of 1870-1900).

The Ethical Policy inspired a variety of projects, including public health programs, improved communication and transportation facilities, measures to deal with overpopulation, agricultural programs, and educational facilities. Health programs included immunization projects and efforts to prevent the spread of malaria and bubonic plague. Transportation was improved by the construction of many rail lines (from 1867 to 1930 the number of miles of railway increased from 15 to over 4,500). To relieve the pressures from the rapidly expanding population of Java, the Dutch encouraged emigration to the outer islands, and many Javanese moved to Sumatra. Agricultural

advances were made through extensive increases in irrigation. Primary education, long neglected by the Dutch, became more available through the establishment of village schools.

Though these improvements were helpful, many have viewed them as "too little and too late." For instance, in the field of health, many Indonesians were still unable to receive even basic medical treatment. Despite the earlier introduction of a doctor training school, by 1930 there were only 667 doctors in Java, or one for every 62,500 people.

Opportunities for education were similarly limited. Most Indonesians were lucky to be able to go to one of the government sponsored primary schools, which offered only a three year course focusing on reading, writing and arithmetic. A much smaller fraction of the population might be able to join one of the Dutch schools, or even go to the Netherlands for higher education. In 1930 there were only 178 Indonesian students attending university, representing only one for every 333,000 people in the archipelago. A complicated system of "native" schools and "European" schools evolved that eventually included "link" schools to allow students to transfer from one system to the other. The expense of tuition restricted most Indonesians from attending secondary school or university and conservative attitudes restricted educational opportunities for women still further.

Kartini:

Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) belonged to of one of the royal families of Java's north coast. Her father was unusually progressive for the time, and allowed the young Kartini to attend a European school. Kartini learned to speak fluent Dutch and engaged in a series of correspondence with several Dutch women.

Later many of these letters were collected and published both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands (a later edition was published in English under the title *Letters of a Javanese Princess)*. The popularity of the book in the Netherlands led to the creation of a special fund for donations that were to be used to sponsor "Kartini" schools that were specially created to offer education for young women in Java.

Kartini's birthday is now a national holiday in Indonesia, where she is remembered as one of the leaders of women's rights.

Despite its limited availability, education was an especially important factor in the growth of the nationalist movement. The few people who were able to receive a higher education became influential in promoting "study clubs" and other organizations that developed into the political parties that campaigned for independence.

Nationalist Organizations

A variety of organizations evolved in the Indies during the early twentieth century that contributed to an increasing sense of nationalism on behalf of the Indonesian people. The early organizations appealed only to a regionally or ethnically based membership. There were associations such as "Young Java" and "Young Sumatra" that were designed to be youth groups geared to people from a particular area. Gradually these youth groups joined together to form a united "*Indonesia Muda*" ("Young Indonesia") group that recognized the common bonds of all the members. At the second Congress for Indonesian Youth (1928) the groups made a famous pledge still honored today in Indonesia as the "*Sumpah Pemuda*" or "Youth Pledge". The members agreed to the concept of one land, one people, and one language. The Malay language, long used as a trading language throughout the region, was chosen as a common means of communication and was renamed as "*Bahasa Indonesia*", literally meaning "Indonesian language".

Budi Utomo ("High Endeavor")

Created in 1907 by Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, *Budi Utomo* is usually considered one of the first Indonesian nationalist organizations. Its founder, Dr. Sudirohusodo, was a medical doctor and an editor, and had received both Western and Javanese education. The group focused primarily on cultural values, and appealed especially to the Javanese *priyayi*, or aristocracy, and to students and intellectuals.

Reaching a peak membership of about 10,000, *Budi Utomo* was relatively conservative in its outlook, but served the important function of building a common sense of pride and unity among its members. Later some of its members were represented in the Volksraad, or People's Council. *Budi Utomo* was not really a political group, but it served to inspire other Indonesians to create their own nationalist groups.

A number of other groups were formed that promoted a sense of cultural and political identity. One of the earliest of these to take on a clear political role was the Indies Party. Founded in 1912 bv E.F.E. Douwes Dekker (a relative of the Douwes Dekker who had written *Max Havelaar*), the Indies party was one of the first parties to clearly ask for Indonesian independence. Most of the members (including Douwes Dekker) were Eurasians, but the party was open to all who wished to join. This marked it as one of the first groups to consciously include all Indonesians regardless of ethnic background, as reflected in its slogan "the Indies for those who make their homes there." Because the Dutch banned political parties that advocated independence for the colony, the party did not last long and its leaders were exiled to the Netherlands in 1913.

In the same year that the Indies Party was founded, Umar Said Tjokroaminoto created a group called *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union). This party evolved out of the Islamic Trading Union, which had been formed in 1911. The new *Sarekat Islam* became popular due to the dynamic character of its leader. Tjokroaminoto was a charismatic speaker, and his speeches quickly drew new members to the movement. Some followers looked up to Tjokroaminoto as the new *Ratu Adil* (Just King) who would lead them into a new and glorious age. By 1919 the group claimed to have two million followers, though the real number of people actively involved in the organization was probably smaller.

Sarekat Islam used the Islamic religion as a symbol of unity for its members. Most native Indonesians were Muslim, unlike members of the Chinese and European communities. Many of the official goals of *Sarekat Islam* revolved around encouraging commercial assistance among Muslims as well as providing mutual spiritual development to all members of the brotherhood of Islam. But *Sarekat Islam* was not limited to religious aims. It also became active in the nationalist movement, though because political opposition to the Dutch was banned, it had to be careful not to appear too radical.

As *Sarekat Islam* grew larger, its membership became split into several different streams. Many members also belonged to a Socialist party that had been established in 1914 by a Dutchman named Hendrik Sneevliet. Soon some of the Socialist members such as Darsono and Semaun tried to become leaders within *Sarekat Islam*. Many of the non-Socialist members were unhappy with the new faction within their party, and in 1921 they

passed a resolution forbidding members of Sarekat Islam from holding joint membership with another political party. Many of the socialists left Sarekat Islam and joined the newly formed *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party).

The PKI was popular for its outspoken anti-Dutch policy. In 1922 one of its leaders, Tan Malaka, tried to organize a general strike but was arrested and forced to leave the country. The PKI continued to sponsor strikes and soon turned to more extreme methods. In 1926 a group of PKI leaders met to discuss plans for outright rebellion. Not all of the leaders were happy with the idea, but preparations proceeded. The revolt broke out in Batavia and other parts of west Java on November 12, 1926. Poor coordination and lack of public support caused it to fail. Advance knowledge of the plot allowed the Dutch to suppress the revolt quickly, and order was restored in the capital in just one day. By December the revolt was finished in Java, although another attempt was launched in Sumatra on January 1, 1927. It too was quickly crushed by the Dutch. While only two Europeans had been killed, 13,000 Indonesians were arrested, of which 4,500 were sent to jail and the rest were released. With all of its leaders exiled, the PKI was effectively destroyed and would not play an active role for the next twenty years.

While the Dutch made it clear they would not tolerate threats to their position of authority in the colony, they were willing to allow moderate elements some degree of representation in a People's Council. The council first met in 1918, with a mix of elected and appointed members including both Dutch and Indonesians. It served as an advisory council and could initiate and amend legislation. A number of Indonesian parties, including *Sarekat Islam* and *Budi Utomo*, had representatives in the People's Council, but many members soon felt frustrated by the lack of real power to influence policy. The Dutch Governor-General still looked to the Netherlands for final approval on all issues.

But not all Indonesians were willing to accept the relatively passive role that the Dutch tried to make them take. In 1927 the *Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian National Union) was formed, though a year later it changed its name to *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian National Party), or PNI. Many of its early core members had studied abroad and many had belonged to the Bandung Study Club formed by a young engineer named Sukarno.

Sukarno

On the sixth day of the sixth month of the year 1901, a son was born to a Balinese woman and a Javanese man. The child's name was Kusno, but after a severe childhood illness his parents changed his name, hoping that it would bring him better luck. His new name was Sukarno. It was not uncommon for Indonesians to assume a new name after some major event in their life and it was also not unusual to have only a single name rather than a first name and a family name, as in the West.

(Many Westerners had a hard time believing this, and once a frustrated Australian journalist had to make up a first name for Sukarno because his editor refused to accept that anyone could have only one name. Others reading the article assumed that the information was accurate and to this day one can find books that refer to "Achmed" Sukarno, even though that was never his real name.)

As a young man Sukarno attended the European secondary school in Surabaya. During his studies there he stayed in the house of Tjokroaminoto, the noted leader of the *Sarekat Islam*. Sukarno read widely and became as familiar with Western history as he was with the ancient tales of heroism and glory in Java and Bali that he had learned from his mother. Sukarno was influenced by the time he spent in the household of Tjokroaminoto, and had the opportunity to meet many important nationalist leaders and to develop his natural ability at public speaking.

In 1921 Sukarno enrolled at the famous ITB, the Technical College of Bandung. He received an engineering degree and was able to meet with the ex-leaders of the Indies party, who had come to Bandung after their exile in the Netherlands. In 1926 he established the Bandung Study Club, which brought together young Indonesian intellectuals who were interested in promoting Indonesian self-rule. This group formed the basis for the Indonesian National Party, the PNI, which was headed by Sukarno himself.

Sukarno was able to inspire people with his dramatic speeches and his ability to appeal to the common people. He was as comfortable discussing party politics in fluent Dutch with his Study Group friends as he was speaking to crowds of poor workers who had never had the opportunity to go to school. One of his great talents was his ability to blend together ideas from various sources and produce a synthesis that could be accepted by many groups, and as a political leader he was able to gain the cooperation of many different parties. He incorporated Western ideas with traditional Hindu/Buddhist Javanese tradition and Islamic references to produce a thoroughly Indonesian point of view. For his role in leading the Indonesian people during the Nationalist Movement, the Second World War, the Indonesian Revolution, and the first years of the independent Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno is often referred to as the Father of Indonesia.

Sukarno now became leader of the PNI and used his skill in making speeches to expand membership in the party to 10,000 people by 1929. But Sukarno's outspoken criticism of the Dutch and his open call for an independent Indonesia got him in trouble with the authorities. In 1929 he was arrested and the PNI dissolved. Upon his release in 1931 Sukarno quickly rose to become chairman of a new organization, the *Partai Indonesia* (Indonesian Party). But the Dutch viewed him as a threat, and in 1933 Sukarno was re-arrested and sent into exile, where he would remain until the Japanese invasion of World War II. Two of his associates, Mohammed Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, had formed another party but they too were arrested and exiled.

After the rise and fall of the PNI a new proposal was set forth in the People's Council. In 1936 one of its members, Sutarjo, put his name to a petition that asked for the Dutch to hold a conference with the Indonesians to discuss the possibility of establishing self rule for Indonesia within the broader framework of a Dutch-Indonesian Union. This concept was consistent with provisions of the new Dutch constitution, but the Dutch flatly denied the request. The rejection of the Sutarjo Petition demonstrated again to the Indonesians that the Dutch were inflexible in their desire to maintain their position of authority.

By 1936 the Indonesian nationalist movement had suffered a number of setbacks. Tjokroaminoto, the dynamic leader of *Sarekat Islam*, had died, and many of the other prominent nationalist leaders, including Sukarno, Hatta, and Sjahrir, were in exile. The ill-fated Sutarjo Petition demonstrated the limitations that the People's Council faced in influencing Dutch policy. The only real attempt at outright rebellion had failed disastrously and its sponsor, the PKI, had been crushed. Yet despite all this, there had been real progress. Indonesians had joined together and forged a sense of common identity. They now realized that they stood a better chance of obtaining their ultimate goal of independence if they stood united with each other. Only the severe tactics of the Dutch had prevented them from achieving their goal. For the moment the Dutch retained their power. But this state of affairs was about to be shattered as a series of events half way around the world began to unfold that would ultimately lead to the start of World War II.

Summary

Beginning in 1800 the Dutch government took formal control of what was left of the bankrupt VOC empire. Governor-General Daendels began to implement a number of reforms to centralize the administration of the colony but had little time to put them in place before the British took control of the islands. Raffles sponsored his own series of changes, including new legal measures, the abolition of slavery, and the land rent system. When the Dutch regained the Indies they kept some of these reforms but retained their old style of indirect rule through the local leaders.

Indonesian reaction to the reappearance of the Dutch varied in different regions, but armed opposition was common. The Java War, Pattimura Rebellion, Padri War, and Aceh War were all serious challenges to Dutch authority. Numerous other resistance efforts hampered Dutch ability to take command, and the final shape of the colony was not reached until early in the twentieth century. In an effort to recover some of the expenses of the Java War the Dutch imposed the "cultivation system," which led to great profit for the Dutch and great suffering for the Javanese. As the government monopolies of the cultivation system were gradually replaced with private enterprise during the Liberal period, more attention was placed outside Java. Rubber estates and oil exploration in Sumatra in the early twentieth century became major sources of revenue.

In reaction to the continued exploitation of the both the land and the peoples of Indonesia, a growing sense of nationalism developed to oppose the Dutch. The Ethical policy of the Dutch had taken several steps to overcome some of the shortcomings of previous administrators, and provided limited improvements in the fields of agriculture, health, and education. The small number of Indonesians who were able to receive higher education took the lead in developing social, religious, and political organizations that evolved into the national movement. One of the prominent leaders to emerge from this movement was Sukarno, who was later to become the first president of Indonesia.

173

Exercises:

I Multiple Choice:

1) Herman Willem Daendels could best be described as

a) a reformer
b) a representative of the British-backed Dutch government in exile
c) a kind man who was reluctant to use military force
d) all of the above

2) The man chosen by the British to administer the Indies from 1811 to 1816 was

a) Jan Janssens
b) Thomas Raffles
c) Herman Daendels
d) Lord Minto

3) During his time in the Indies Raffles showed an interest in

a) the languages and cultures of the local people
b) administrative reform
c) scientific observation of plant and animal life
d) all of the above

4) The Java War can best be described as

a) a minor inconvenience to the Dutch
b) the first major revolt that united all of Indonesia against the Dutch
c) a costly war that lasted five years
d) none of the above

5) The Cultivation System

a) consisted of helping provide local farmers with increased irrigation and better agricultural techniques
b) in practice benefitted the Dutch more than it did the Indonesians
c) increased agricultural production but did not produce any significant profits for the Dutch
d) a and c

6) After the Dutch regained control of the Indies in 1816, their return to the "outer islands" was

a) often met with active resistance
b) hampered by proponents of the Ethical Policy
c) swiftly and easily accomplished
d) greatly assisted by the continuing military aid provided by the British under Raffles

7) Sumatra was the site of

a) the Padri War
b) the Aceh War
c) the Pattimura Rebellion
d) a and b

8) The Ethical Policy

a) was intended to raise the standard of ethics by making it a required course in school
b) provided limited improvement in education, health, and transportation
c) was designed by EFE Douwes-Dekker, Tjokroaminoto, and other early leaders of the nationalist movement
d) was an important prelude to the Liberal Period

9) The Sarekat Islam organization

a) was a small but respected conservative study club
b) was famous for its slogan "the Indies for those who make their homes there"
c) grew quickly as a popular movement that emphasized adherance to Islam as a symbol of unity for its members
d) never had a popular leader who could attract new members

10) The PKI revolts of late 1926 and early 1927

a) suffered from lack of support and poor coordination
b) were quickly suppressed by the Dutch
c) marked the end of any major activity within the PKI for the next 20 years
d) all of the above

II Essays:

1) The written word can be a powerful tool for mobilizing public opinion. Describe the effects for Indonesian society that came from the publication of Multatuli's *Max Havelaar*, Van Deventer's essay *A Debt of Honor*, and the collected letters of Kartini.

What are the possible advantages and disadvantages of using the printed word to try to achieve social change?

2) Compare and contrast the administrations of Daendels and Raffles.

3) Describe the early development of the nationalist movement.

III Class Debate:

1) "The Dutch were only interested in profit: they did not care for the welfare of the Indonesian people."

Divide the class into those for and against this proposal and debate the issue.

2) Divide the class into Dutch administrators and Indonesian nationalists. Express your points of view in an imaginary session of the Peoples Council.

IV Match the Columns:

1) ___ Kartini	A) early leader of the nationalist movement who founded the Bandung Study Club and became leader of the Indonesia National Party (PNI)
2) ___ Tjokroaminoto	B) Governor-General of the Indies representing the French-backed government of the Netherlands
3) ___ Diponegoro	C) PKI leader who organized several strikes -- later arrested and deported by the Dutch
4) ___ Edward Douwes Dekker	D) Javanese woman of noble birth who became famous as an advocate for women's education
5) ___ Cut Nya Dien	E) known primarily for the petition submitted in his name to the Peoples' Council asking the Dutch to discuss the possibility of Indonesian self rule
6) ___ Tan Malaka	F) published the influential book *Max Havelaar* using the pen name Multatuli
7) ___ Sutarjo	G) energetic reform-minded Lieutenant-Governor of Java during the British period
8) ___ Raffles	H) charismtaic founder of the Sarekat Islam
9) ___ Daendels	I) leader of the revolt against the Dutch that came to be known as the Java War
10) ___ Sukarno	J) continued her husband's work by leading a band of Acehnese resistance fighters

V Focus on Primary Sources:

"Primary sources" are original documents which may be used as the source of information for further analysis about the people, places, and events that they describe. Letters, newspaper sstories, autobiographies, oral histories, accounting records, and even tombstones can all be used as primary sources.

Read a selection from one of the following sources that describe conditions in Indonesia in the 19th or early 20th century. Write a short report that focusses on the new information you learned about Indonesia and on your feelings about the author.

Your teacher may ask you to make a short presentation to the class tc share your findings. Your choice may depend on which items are available in your school and local library. Look for and choose one of the following:

Benda, H.J. and Larkin, J.A. The World of Southeast Asia. New York, Harper and Row, 1967.

Covarrubias, Miguel. Bali. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford in Asia Paperbacks (Oxford University Press), 1972.

Douwes Dekker, E. (Multatuli). Max Havelaar. Translated by Roy Edwards. Heinemann 1967.

Kartini, R.A. Letters of a Javanese Princess. Translated by A Symmers. Lanham, MD., University Press of America, 1985.

Marsden, William. The History of Sumatra, reprint of 3rd edition (1811) New York, Oxford University Press, 1966.

Moore, Cornelia. Insulinde: Selected Translations from Dutch Writers of Three Centuries on the Indonesian Archipelago. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1978.

Penders, C.L.M. Indonesia: Select Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism. Queensland University Press, 1977.

Raffles, Thomas S. The History of Java. (first published in London in 1817) Oxford, Oxford University Press,1965.

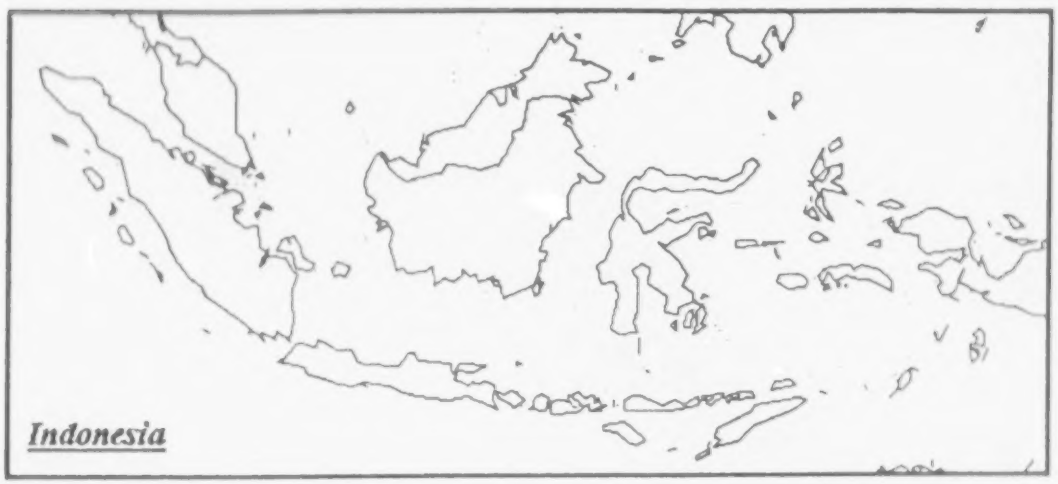
Scidmore, E.R. Java: The Garden of the East. Singapore, Oxford in Asia Paperbacks (Oxford University Press), 1984.

Szekely, Ladislao. Tropic Fever: The Adventures of a Planter in Sumatra. Oxford in Asia Paperbacks (Oxford University Press), 1982.

Wit, Augusta de. Java: Facts and Fancies. Singapore, Oxford in Asia Paperbacks (Oxford University Press), 1984.

VI Map Knowledge:

Identify the places described below and label them on the accompanying map. Write the number of the corresponding question in brackets next to each place name on the map.



1) The city that became the main site of resistance in the the Padri War.
2) The capital of Aceh.
3) The site of the West Sumatran port that was held by the British until it was signed over to the Dutch by the 1824 Treaty of London.
4) The western end of the Java Road built by Daendels.
5) The eastern end of the Java Road.
6) Site of the Pattimura rebellion.
7) Home to the famous technical college known by the initials ITB. Sukarno's study club was also named after this city.
8) The Sultan of this city was exiled to Penang after being accused of plotting against the British: Raffles sent 2000 troops to take over the city.
9) The island on which the local rulers and their courts committed a ritual suicide march into rifle and artillery fire of the Dutch forces rather than surrender.
10) The island which was the site of the Banjermasin War.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

The Indonesian nationalist movement experienced considerable development in the first three and a half decades of the twentieth century. Tjokroaminoto, Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir had all rallied support for an independent Indonesia. Dutch reaction, however, was predictably strong in its opposition to give any real freedom to the people in its southeast Asian colony. The Dutch succeeded in maintaining their position of dominance, and they simply imprisoned or exiled most of the main leaders of the nationalist movement. But as countries in both Europe and Asia became increasingly swept up in the events leading to World War II, Indonesia was about to experience a major change in the balance of power that would eventually allow it to move forward to freedom.

World War II

Japanese participation in World War II was to have a major impact on Indonesia. It personally affected the lives of the whole generation that lived through the terrible hardships of war. It also swept away Dutch control of the islands. But it is important to be able to view the Japanese military actions in Indonesia within the greater context of the war, for it helps to provide an understanding of Japanese policy in Indonesia.

Long before the Japanese landed in Indonesia, Japan had been involved in military conquests in other Asian countries, principally China. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria. In 1937 the Sino-Japanese War began. At about this time in Europe, Germany was heavily involved in the Spanish Civil War. By 1939 Germany had absorbed Austria and invaded Czechoslovakia and Poland, and World War II formally began as other European countries moved to check Germany's military advances. A military alliance between

Germany and Japan developed by 1940, as both countries aggressively expanded their respective spheres of influence.

By mid-1940, France and the Netherlands had fallen to German forces. This weakened the ability of the French and Dutch to defend their Southeast Asian colonies. The Japanese saw their opportunity to take control of these colonies while the Europeans were busy with their own war. The first step was to move into French Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos). Then, in early December of 1941, Japan moved quickly and decisively to gain control of large parts of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Lightning air raids were made on Hong Kong, Malaya (now Malaysia), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Japanese troops moved rapidly down the Malay peninsula and threatened the British stronghold at Singapore. On February 15, 1942, Singapore, once thought to be invincible, fell to the invading Japanese. The huge canons guarding the port at Singapore remained silent, since they had been built to face out to the sea in anticipation of a naval attack, and could not be turned around to fire at the enemy troops that attacked from the across the narrow strait separating Singapore from the Malay mainland. In the battle of the Java Sea the Dutch and British forces again attempted to halt the progress of the Japanese, but it was clear that the momentum of the Japanese advance would quickly bring the Japanese troops to the islands of Indonesia.

Japanese Occupation

The outer islands (including Sumatra) were the first areas of Indonesia to see Japanese troops. Dutch resistance, however, was centered in Java. A brief campaign to defend Indonesia from the Japanese ended on March 9, 1942. In less than three months the Japanese had thoroughly defeated a power that had ruled much of Indonesia for over 300 years. Naturally the Indonesian people quickly reassessed their ideas about the supposed power of their former colonial masters. Nationalist leaders were inspired by the way that the Japanese, as fellow Asians, had brushed aside the Western forces. Suddenly the idea of complete freedom from Western domination became very real.

The Japanese encouraged the Indonesians to feel that they had been liberated from the evils of colonialism, and they talked about a bright future for Indonesia, Japan, and other areas of Asia as members of a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." While it is true that the Japanese invasion of Indonesia marked the effective end of Dutch domination there, many Indonesians quickly found that their "role" in the Co-Prosperity Sphere exposed them to even greater oppression than they had experienced under the Dutch. The Japanese army desperately needed the natural resources of Indonesia -- oil, rubber, tin, and manpower. Indonesians suffered great hardships as the Japanese took control of the economy and exploited Indonesian resources for their war effort.

The Japanese high command divided Indonesia into three regions, each controlled by a different unit of the Japanese military. Sumatra was administered by the Japanese 7th army, while Java and Madura were ruled by the 17th army. The rest of Indonesia, including Kalimantan and all of eastern Indonesia, was under Japanese naval command. Each of these zones possessed unique attributes that affected the Japanese policy and administration.

Sumatra was an important source of rubber, oil and other natural resources. It also helped guard the strategic Straits of Melaka. Eastern Indonesia was also a strategic area for Japanese war aims, since it provided a series of stepping stones that could serve as a path for an invasion of Australia. Java had long been important as an administrative center and had a much higher population density than the outer islands. Java thus provided much of the forced conscript labor that was used by the Japanese. Estimates on the exact number of forced laborers, known as *romusha*, vary widely in different sources, but it seems clear that somewhere between 200,000 - 400,000 Indonesians were forced to work for Japanese military projects. Many were sent overseas to Burma and the Malay peninsula, and after the war only 70,000 were ever officially located and identified as survivors.

The Japanese tried to involve the Indonesians in more than just forced labor groups. After banning all existing political activity in 1942, the Japanese established their own organizations. This presented a dilemma for Indonesian nationalists. Was it better to collaborate with the Japanese or to resist? The Japanese occupation had liberated them

from the Dutch (at least temporarily), but it had also created much hardship. Sukarno and Hatta decided to work with the Japanese, but always looked for ways to advocate greater Indonesian freedom. Sjahrir chose not to join the official Japanese-sponsored organizations, but remained important as an underground leader. Sjahrir kept in close contact with Sukarno and Hatta throughout the war, so that both sides were well-informed of each other's actions. Amir Sjarifuddin was another nationalist who kept in touch with these three leaders. Sjarifuddin chose not to cooperate with the Japanese, and accepted Dutch assistance to set up an underground resistance. The Japanese discovered his group and executed many of his supporters. Sjarifuddin himself was sentenced to die and was only saved by a personal appeal on his behalf by Sukarno.

In March 1943, the Japanese sponsored the establishment of *Putera*, (an acronym from *Pusat Tenaga Rakyat*, meaning "People's Power Center" -- *putera* itself is also an Indonesian word meaning "son" or "prince"). This organization was intended to provide support for the Japanese war effort, though its leaders seemed more interested in promoting nationalist sentiments. The organization was headed by four prominent Indonesians, Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta, Ki Hajar Dewantaro (an important figure in Indonesian education and founder of the "Taman Siswa" schools) and Kyai H. M. Mansur (a Muslim leader). One important offshoot of *Putera* was the formation of a local defence force known as *Peta*, (from *Sukarela Tentara Pembela Tanah Air*, Volunteer Army of Defenders of the Homeland). This defence force provided military training to a large number of Indonesians, and was eventually to become the core of the Indonesian national army which was formed after the war.

By early 1944 *Putera* had been replaced with a new organization called *Jawa Hokokai* (Java Service Association). Still under the leadership of Sukarno and Hatta, the new organization was more strictly controlled by the Japanese, and was responsible for establishing local branches that created a direct communication channel to the village level.

The Japanese also set up organizations that gave Indonesians roles as auxiliary police, firefighters, and air raid operators. Various youth groups were formed and the educational curriculum was changed to emphasize loyalty to Japan. The use of Dutch was banned and Bahasa Indonesia (a variety of Malay that had been widely used as a trade

language in Indonesia) was used in its place. The Japanese language was also studied in the schools, but initially so few Indonesians were able to use it that it was not practical to make it the language of administration. The switch to the use of Bahasa Indonesia had a symbolic significance, since the Indonesian nationalist movement had advocated its use as a symbol of Indonesian unity ever since its famous Youth Congress of 1928. A further boost to the nationalist cause came as administrative positions formerly held by Dutch workers were handed over to Indonesians. This helped give both experience and confidence to people who had previously never had the opportunity to hold positions of high authority.

The End of WWII

After the swift success of its initial push through Southeast Asia and the Pacific, Japan suffered several major setbacks. Allied forces regrouped in Australia and started forcing their way slowly back through New Guinea and on towards the Philippines. The battle of Midway island was an important turning point in the war that put the Japanese on the defensive. Japan now had to consider the possibility that Allied forces might make an effort to retake the Indonesian archipelago. Indonesians auxilliary forces were added to work for the Japanese army and navy.

As the Japanese encountered these problems, conditions grew worse for the average Indonesian. More labor was required, and more food and resources were needed for the Japanese army. Allied submarine patrols prevented much of the shipping that normally carried exports from Indonesia to Japan. This hampered the ability of Indonesia to derive any profit from the only real export market that was available. Production of many important cash crops such as tea and sugar fell. By 1943 even rubber output had dropped to one fifth the amount produced in 1941. Inflation soared and in the final months of the war the Japanese-printed currency used in Indonesia fell to only 2.5% of its original value. High inflation, forced labor, and lack of food and medical facilities all caused great hardship.

By 1944 Japan was on the defensive and conditions in Indonesia continued to deteriorate. In September of 1943 Sukarno and Hatta, who had long sought promises of independence from the Japanese, were finally given a vague promise of independence "in the future." By March of 1945 the Americans had taken control of the Philippines from the Japanese and had begun bombing raids over Japan. In May the war in Europe ended with the surrender of Germany. The Allies were able to concentrate all of their resources against Japan.

Facing certain defeat, the Japanese finally gave in to Indonesian demands for independence. An "Investigative Body for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence" was formed, bringing together a group of nationalists who had the heavy yet exhilarating responsibility of determining the nature of an independent Indonesia. Many questions loomed before the committee members, including such fundamental issues as the type of government structure to be chosen and even the exact geographical boundaries of the new nation. Some proposed that Indonesia, whose population was overwhelmingly Muslim, become an Islamic state, with Islamic religious law governing the land and all its people. Others favored a republic, while some supported the idea of a monarchy. Eventually Sukarno persuaded the other members to accept a religiously neutral republican form of government. To build concensus for this, Sukarno painted a vision for the new country based on a state ideology of *Pancasila* (see Chapter One), a term which he devised to describe a five-point philiosophy comprising belief in a Supreme Being and in nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy, and social justice.

Sukarno also advocated including in the independent Indonesia not just the territory of the Dutch East Indies, but also the British colonies on Borneo (Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei) and the Malay peninsula. This underscored the close cultural and linguistic bonds between the Indonesian and Malay peoples, despite centuries of rule under different colonial powers. Others on the committee proposed only to include the territory already defined by the Dutch, and some were willing to give up the area of western New Guinea (now known as Irian Jaya). Though the final recommendation was to include the nearby British colonies, this never happened, and eventually Indonesia was to assume the same borders as the old Dutch East Indies.

By mid 1945, the pace of events began to quicken. On August 6 an atomic bomb destroyed Hiroshima, and three days later another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. For the Japanese the situation appeared hopeless, and the war was almost over. On August 9 Sukarno and Hatta were whisked away and flown to Saigon. Two days later they met with the Japanese Commander for the Southern Area, Field Marshal Terauchi Hisaichi. The Indonesians were officially informed of the Japanese imperial decree to allow them independence.

Sukarno and Hatta returned to Indonesia on August 14 just before the official surrender of the Japanese. News of the surrender came on the 15th, and a band of Indonesian nationalists met at Sukarno's house to debate what they should do. Many urged Sukarno and Hatta to act quickly and decisively, and to make an immediate declaration of independence. Others countered that the Japanese were bound by the terms of their surrender to maintain the status quo until the Allies could regain control, thus preventing the Japanese from allowing the independence plans to proceed. They feared that the Japanese would not cooperate if independence was declared.

Early in the morning of the 16th a group of youth leaders kidnapped Sukarno and Hatta and took them to the small town of Rengasdengklok, claiming it was to ensure their safety in the face of popular rebellion in Jakarta. In fact no rebellion occurred, and it became clear that the youth leaders were trying to force Sukarno to make an early declaration of independence. Subardjo, a friend of Sukarno, drove from Jakarta to talk with the leader of the youth group, whom he found armed with knife and pistol. After some discussion Subardjo persuaded the youth group to let Sukarno and Hatta go back to Jakarta later that day. Though it was already evening by the time they returned, Sukarno and the others hastily convened a meeting to discuss the question of when and how to declare independence. They met at the house of a sympathetic Japanese naval officer, Admiral Maeda Tadashi.

The assembled group debated over what to say in the declaration, and who should sign it. Some wanted to include patriotic language and to denounce the Dutch colonization of their land. But with uncertain Japanese reaction and a need not to inflame an already

tense situation, Hatta and Sukarno created a brief and restrained declaration, handwritten by Sukarno on a lined sheet of paper. It read as follows:

Proclamation:

We the people of Indonesia hereby declare the independence of Indonesia.

Matters concerning the transfer of power and other questions will be carried out in an orderly manner and in the shortest time possible.

Jakarta, 17 August 1945.

In the name of the people of Indonesia,
[signed] Sukarno Hatta

Struggle for Freedom

The declaration of independence that Sukarno and Hatta signed marked the beginning of a new era for the people of Indonesia. The committee members who had gathered at Maeda's house had debated for hours before the declaration was finally written, and it was about four o'clock in the morning before their work was finished. Sukarno had been given little chance to sleep for the previous few nights, and was suffering from a recurrence of malaria. After a few hours of rest Sukarno appeared outside his home at 56 Pegangsaan Timur to be joined by Hatta and other nationalists for a solemn ceremony at which the declaration of independence was formally announced. An Indonesian officer of one of the Peta units raised a red and white flag, which had been sewn by Sukarno's wife, Fatmawati. The Indonesian national anthem, *Indonesia Raya*, was sung. But even though the proclamation had been made on August 17, 1945, it would be several years before the independence of the country was fully recognized.

The young nation of Indonesia came into being after the Japanese surrender and before the Allies had the chance to retake the islands. For a few weeks following the

declaration of independence the Indonesians were thus able to start the process of establishing a government and an army without interference from the Dutch or from other Allies. The constitution that had been drafted by the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence was adopted, and Sukarno was named president and Hatta vice-president. Many of the Japanese, who had been instructed to maintain order, were demoralized and unmotivated to challenge the Indonesians. Though some Japanese tried to fufill their duty and remain in charge, others handed over arms munitions, money, and other resources to the Indonesians.

By the time the Allies arrived in Java, the Indonesian government was in control of many transportation, communication, and even military facilities. Popular support for the new republic was widespread, and many Indonesians were ready to die defending their new-found freedom. The British, who were the first of the Allies to arrive in Java, acknowledged the authority of the Indonesian leaders, even though they did not formally recognize their right to rule. The officer in charge of the British command in Indonesia, Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison, sought to avert trouble by defining his mission as having two simple aims: accepting the surrender of the Japanese forces and rescuing all Allied prisoners of war in the area. To the disappointment of those in the Netherlands, the British did not seem ready to get involved in a struggle to restore the area to its former status as a Dutch colony.

But the presence of British troops created tension. When it was learned that some members of the NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration) had landed in eastern Indonesia, and that the Japanese in Surabaya had surrendered to a Dutch naval captain, the Indonesians grew even more alarmed. They were completely justified in their concern, for the Dutch still felt that they owned the colony, and assumed that they would be able to come back and pick up control of the area. The Dutch badly miscalculated the Indonesian determination to fight for their independence. Skirmishes with the Allied troops broke out in several areas. In late October, when some 6,000 British troops arrived in Surabaya, the unrest escalated into an open assault. Order and a cease-fire were restored only after the British flew in Sukarno to appeal for a peaceful settlement. Fighting broke out again after the British commander in Surabaya was captured and killed. The British retaliated with a

major sweep of the city. For three weeks Surabaya was the scene of heavy fighting, and thousands of Indonesians died before relinquishing control to the British. Even now November 10, the day the British initiated their assault, is remembered in Indonesia as Heros' Day.

Dutch Attempts to Regain the Colony

The events of Surabaya demonstrated Indonesian resolve to defend their country. Though the British troops were to remain in Indonesia for another year, they were not eager to fight on behalf of the Dutch, and hoped that the Dutch and Indonesians could resolve their differences peacefully. But the first meeting between Sjahrir, the new Indonesian Prime Minister, and van Mook, the Dutch Lieutenant-Governor, provided little agreement. Negotiations continued for some time, based on recognition of the Indonesian Republic's authority only in Java, Madura, and Sumatra, with Dutch control of the rest of Indonesia. Both sides were to work together to help form a federation of Indonesian states that would still operate as part of the Dutch kingdom.

In Indonesia many were reluctant to give up concessions to the Dutch, and vowed to keep fighting for "100% independence." Tension grew between those who favored negotiations and those who supported armed struggle. Prime Minister Sjahrir's willingness to negotiate with the Dutch made him unpopular with the "100% independence" group which included figures such as Tan Malaka and the army general, Sudirman. On June 27, 1946, Sjahrir was arrested in Surakarta by local army units loyal to the "100% independence" camp. Sukarno proclaimed martial law, demanded the release of Sjahrir, and broadcast a radio message warning that Sjahrir's arrest was a threat to national unity. Sjahrir was soon released, and members of the army who had opposed the central government were in turn arrested. The rivalries between the two groups had reached dangerous levels, and both sides finally recognized the need to cooperate or risk starting a civil war while still under threat of the Dutch.

Dutch troops were still arriving in Indonesia and fighting kept breaking out. Jakarta was under Dutch control and the Indonesian Republic had moved its capital to

Yogyakarta. Bandung had been divided into European and Indonesian zones, with frequent skirmishes along the barbed wire dividing lines. The Dutch proceeded with their plans for the formation of a "United States of Indonesia". In July 1946 they sponsored the Malino Conference with the participation of nearly forty leaders from the outer islands. During the conference a proposal was made to form Kalimantan into one state and eastern Indonesia into another. No representative from the Sukarno's Republic was present.

Negotiations

By November 1946 the British withdrew the last of their troops from Indonesia, but only after having pressured the Dutch to engage in direct dialogue with the Republic. The result was the Linggajati Agreement, agreed upon in November 1946 and ratified in March 1947. Under the agreement the Dutch recognized the existance of the Indonesian Republic in Java, Madura, and Sumatra. The Republic was to form one part of a United States of Indonesia, along with Kalimantan and Eastern Indonesia. This federation would operate as part of a Dutch-Indonesian Union with the Dutch queen as its head.

The agreement did not bring a peaceful resolution to the situation. Sjahrir was again blamed by many Indonesians for caving in to Dutch demands: by July 1947 he had resigned as prime minister, to be replaced by Amir Sjarifuddin. No sooner had the new prime minister been installed than the Dutch began a "police action" to take over key areas of Java and Sumatra. Though the Dutch were successful in gaining an extended field of control, they did so at the expense of widespread condemnation. International attention had begun to focus on the Indonesian question, and Australia, India, and other countries protested the Dutch use of military force. The matter was brought to the attention of the United Nations Security Council, which ordered a cease-fire and sponsored the creation of a Good Offices Committee to help resolve the dispute. Military observers were sent to monitor the cease-fire, which was set for August 1947.

A new agreement between the Dutch and Indonesians was reached in January 1948 as a result of the Renville negotiations (so-called because both sides agreed to meet aboard the USS Renville to hold their discussions). This agreement allowed the Dutch to

keep all the territory they had already captured, plus large regions under Indonesian control which fell between the Dutch-held areas. Approximately one half the total land area of Java was thus in Dutch hands, including most of the important sea ports. The Indonesian Republic was not faring well, and the Sjarifuddin cabinet collapsed as opposition to the Renville agreement spread. Sukarno appointed Hatta as the new Prime Minister.

However, Sjarifuddin continued to be involved in politics, and now attempted to lead the opposition. He eventually lent his support to Musso, one of the leaders of the failed PKI uprisings of 1926-27, who returned from exile in the USSR in August 1948. Musso quickly mobilized the communists and led them in a poorly timed revolt that started when PKI troops were driven out of Solo by army forces of the Siliwangi Division loyal to the Republic. Musso's followers retreated to Madiun, in east Java, where on September 18 they declared a new government. Loyalist forces put down the rebellion (refusing the assistance offered by the Dutch) in about three months. Musso was shot and killed while attempting to escape and Amir Sjarifuddin was caught and later executed.

The Madiun Affair, as the PKI uprising came to be known, discredited the Indonesian communist party as an enemy of the revolution, and led to long-standing mistrust between the army and the PKI. The Madiun Affair also demonstrated that the Republic of Indonesia, even under difficult circumstances, was able to handle its own affairs and was not sympathetic to the communist cause. This gained the admiration of the United States of America and some other western powers, which were watching with concern as communist insurgencies occurred in other parts of Southeast Asia, such as Malaya, Burma, and the Philippines. American support for the Indonesian cause became especially important after the Dutch defied the UN cease-fire and launched a final full-scale attack on the Republic.

The Dutch launched their second "police action" on December 18, 1948. The next day the Dutch had captured the Republican capital of Yogyakarta, and had arrested Sukarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, and other Republican leaders. The Dutch succeeded in gaining control of every major city in Java, and the Indonesian army was forced to continue fighting a guerrilla war from behind enemy lines and from outposts in the countryside.

International reaction to the "police action" was largely one of outrage. The United Nations was upset that the Dutch had taken over Yogyakarta when the UN Good Offices Committee was installed in a nearby town only a few miles away. India's leader Nehru openly criticized the Dutch for their aggressive actions, and called for an all-Asian conference to resolve the situation. The United States quickly threatened to suspend all aid to the Netherlands. Even within the Dutch-held territory, many governments of the Dutch-sponsored Indonesian states resigned in protest.

The Netherlands was forced to accept another UN cease-fire and eventually accepted the fact that it would have to give up its plans to regain control of Indonesia. A series of talks were begun in August 1949 with representatives from the Dutch, the Republic, and the other Indonesian states. By November they had agreed that sovereignty of the former Dutch colony would be transferred to a United States of Indonesia, which would consist of the Indonesian Republic (Java, Madura, and Sumatra) and fifteen other Indonesian states representing all the rest of the former Dutch East Indies except for western New Guinea (Irian Barat). The exact status of western New Guinea would be decided at a later date. In return the Indonesians agreed to pay for the accumulated Netherlands Indies debt. Indonesia and the Netherlands would still be linked in a loosely defined Dutch-Indonesian Union. After four and a half years the revolution was finally over.

On December 27, 1949 Queen Juliana of the Netherlands signed the official document giving Dutch recognition to the United States of Indonesia. Sukarno flew from Yogyakarta to Jakarta, where he was greeted by huge crowds of enthusiastic supporters, and prepared to begin his term as president of a free and independent Indonesia.

The Sukarno Years

Sukarno revelled in the glory of the new beginning of his country, and led his people in an often flamboyant manner. Some of his key strengths included his ability to

speak to the people and to inspire them, and his skill at negotiating compromise and balancing opposing factions. Though often criticized for focussing resources on grand schemes such as monuments and sports stadiums while overlooking the practical needs of the people, Sukarno managed to keep the country together, and maintained a large and loyal following. One of his primary responsibilities was to ensure that the country survived the many threats to national unity which were encountered in the first fifteen years following the revolution.

Establishing a United Indonesia

Sukarno found himself the leader of a nation of people filled with high hopes, enthusiasm, and determination to rebuild the country. Indonesia had emerged from the hardships of Japanese occupation during WWII and withstood the severe trials of revolution against the Dutch. Yet the new nation had inherited many problems: its economy was in ruins, its people poor, and its unity threatened by regional separatists. After the initial rejoicing in their new-found freedom, the Indonesian people had to confront the difficult task of making their dream of a new, prosperous, and just society become a reality. Creating and maintaining a united country involved facing many social, economic, and political challenges.

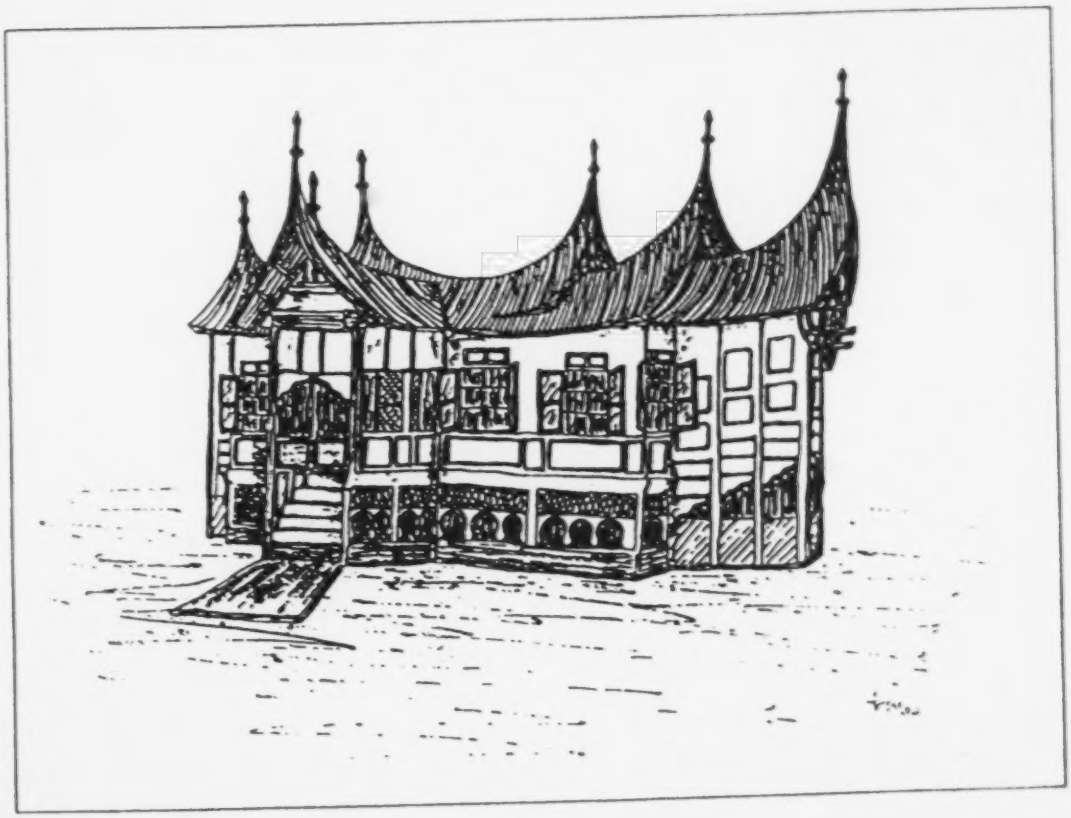
Social Development

The new Indonesia was composed of millions of people spread over thousands of miles and speaking hundreds of different languages. A primary task of the new nation was, therefore, the establishment of a new and integrated society that was acceptable to all. Sukarno's initial vision of a *Pancasila* society had been a potent symbol of inspiration: now that vision had to be put into practice.

The new country made a major commitment to education. New schools and universities were built and enrollment jumped to levels far higher than those during the Dutch era. The emphasis on education succeeded in providing a new generation the basic

skills that would be required for them to participate in the development of the country. Two major accomplishments were a dramatic rise in literacy rates and an increase in the comprehension and use of the national language.

While Indonesia was generally successful in providing increased opportunities for education, it encountered difficulties in raising some of the other measures in the general standard of living. This was primarily due to a great increase in the population level. For example, even though overall rice production increased, the amount produced per person declined. As population levels grew, many moved to the cities in search of opportunities. The increasing urbanization eventually put a strain on the resources of the main cities.



Other social challenges included the need to put aside regional and ethnic loyalties in favor of an all-encompassing Indonesian identity. Indonesia has been very successful in instilling a sense of national character and loyalty that transcends ethnic divisions. Immediately after the revolution, however, some tension was evident. For example, some

viewed the Ambonese with suspicion since many of them had been soldiers in the Dutch colonial army, and had been deployed in other areas of Indonesia to enforce Dutch rule. Others were wary of the Javanese, fearing that their numerical superiority over every other ethnic group might give them extra influence. While pride in ethnic background remains evident among today's Indonesian population, there has been remarkable acceptance of many features of a national identity, particularly in the use of the Bahasa Indonesia as the national language.

Economic Development

After the double strain of participation in a world war and a revolution, Indonesia's economy at independence was in disarray. During the revolution the Indonesians had often employed a "scorched earth" policy of destroying everything within the immediate area when forced to retreat. While this had prevented the Dutch from gaining valuable resources, it also meant that Indonesia was eventually to repossess these same burnt-out transportation, communication and agricultural facilities. A shortage of capital hampered efforts to repair the damage.

Inflation was a persistent problem, and prices roughly doubled during the first seven years after the end of the revolution. While the number of civil service positions grew, the salaries for these jobs was seldom enough to keep up with inflation. The low pay forced many government workers to seek extra income, and provided a climate that encouraged the potential for corruption.

Rubber and oil provided the main source of export earnings. Most export items were produced in the outer islands, many of which had developed black market smuggling operations during the revolution to bypass Dutch control. Some of this smuggling continued after the war, benefitting the indivdual producers but depriving the central government of potential tax revenue. Some outer island residents complained that they should keep all of their export profits anyway, since they had little desire to see their money sent to Java to support the growing central bureaucracy.

Political Development

The United States of Indonesia that emerged from the final negotiations with the Dutch soon changed its structure to become a unitary republic. By August 17, 1950, five years after it had first declared independence, Indonesia had adopted a new provisional constitution as well as its present official name, the Republic of Indonesia. The government operated with a one house parliament, and in the early years of independence prime ministers came into power and then lost their control on an almost annual basis.

Four major political parties emerged, each vying for power through new coalitions in parliament. The Masyumi party was probably the largest of the four, though in 1952 it split into two factions as the group known as Nahdatul Ulama withdrew from Masyumi to form its own party. The Masyumi party was the main voice of Islam in Indonesian politics. The Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) drew support from the the abangan community in Java, and was often associated with Sukarno (who had led the party before independence but who was not now technically part of any party). Sjahrir, who had been prime minister during the revolution, led the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI). The Communist Party (PKI), badly discredited by the Madiun Affair during the revolution, now started to gain more followers under the leadership of Aidit.

Meanwhile Sukarno continued in the role he had been in from the time of the revolution as president with Hatta as vice-president. Sukarno was a master of public speaking who could draw on people's emotions, paint grand visions of future glory, and inspire committment to a cause. Hatta was a more quiet, scholarly man, an economist by training, whose strength lay in planning, negotiation, and diplomacy. Though these two men were different in temperament, together they formed a team that was extremely popular among the people.

Political activity increased as the time for the first general elections drew near. Many smaller parties joined the political scene and over forty were included on the ballot sheet. Over 90% of the eligible voting population showed up at the polls when the election was finally held on September 29, 1955. Though the Indonesian people had never had the chance to vote in this way before, the election itself proceeded smoothly, and was

generally agreed to have been conducted in a fair and open process. But with so many parties to choose from, there was no clear winner. The PNI and Masyumi virtually tied for first place, each receiving 57 seats in parliament. The Nahdatul Ulama received 45 seats and the PKI 39. A further 59 seats were divided among the smaller parties, no one of which claimed more than 8 seats. Parliament remained without a clear mandate, and coalitions continued to exercise a weak control. Soon Sukarno seemed to lose hope for the whole system, and began to talk of a "guided democracy."

Despite the problems of short-lived coalitions in parliament, Indonesia was able to make progress in affairs of state, and began to take an active part in the international community. After attending the Colombo Conference (consisting of a meeting of leaders from India, Ceylon [now Sri Lanka], Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia) in 1954, Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo called for a larger meeting of Afro-Asian leaders. Sukarno approved, realising the boost in international recognition that hosting such an event would provide. Sukarno was also eager to develop a cooperative bloc of nations that would conduct themselves independently of the the two superpowers that dominated the West and that sought to draw other nations into their sphere of influence. In April 1955 leaders of 29 countries representing Africa and Asia converged on the city of Bandung in western Java. The assembled leaders included Chou En-lai, Nasser, Nehru, and Sihanouk. The Asian-Africa Conference (sometimes also referred to as the Bandung Conference) was a great success, and demonstrated that Indonesia could play an important and active role in world politics.

Threats to Unity

Indonesia's continuing progress took place against a backdrop of revolts and insurrections. Some of these events were relatively minor and easy to quell, but others were serious challenges that threatened the ability of the country to remain intact.

Even during the revolution against the Dutch the young Indonesian Republic faced opposition from a movement known as *Darul Islam*, (Domain of Islam). This movement

was centered in Sunda (the western portion of the island of Java), and led by the Islamic teacher S. M. Kartosuwirjo. In defiance of the Republic he declared an independent state in Sunda. Darul Islam forces continued to fight against the Dutch, but they also made it difficult for the Republic to regain control of the area after the Dutch had left. Guerrilla warfare continued from bases in the Sundanese countryside until Kartosuwirjo was finally captured and executed in 1962.

Other opposition to the Republic surfaced as soon as the revolution was complete. Local leaders in the some of the outer islands were reluctant to dissolve their own states within the federated United States of Indonesia. Some simply disliked and distrusted the central government in Java and some wanted to form their own independent countries. For example, by March of 1950 there were still three of the original sixteen states which had not merged with the unitary Republic of Indonesia. East Indonesia was one of these states, and when the central Republic sent troops to the area to ensure their cooperation, it found that local troops barred them from landing at Makassar (southern Sulawesi). The local troops were led by Captain Andi Aziz. More republican troops were dispatched and Aziz was taken to Jakarta and sentenced to jail. The "uprising" was over in little over a week.

A more determined show of resistance to the Republic came from Dr. Christian Soumokil, who proclaimed an independent Republic of South Moluku from his base in Ambon. Most Ambonese were Christian, and may have felt that their voice would be lost in the predominately Muslim republic. More importantly, many Ambonese had been part of the Dutch colonial army and had fought against the Republic during the revolution. Naturally they had reason to feel anxious about their position if they too were incorporated into the Republic. However, they had little chance of maintaining their bid for independence, and by November 1950 republican troops had seized control. Some Ambonese left the country altogether and took up residence in the Netherlands.

Another challenge to Indonesian authority came from forces under the command of the notorious Dutch captain "Turk" Westerling. Westerling had been responsible for the brutal enforcement of Dutch authority in Sulawesi during the revolution that had cost the lives of thousands of Indonesians. On January 23, 1950, soon after the Dutch had formally given up control in Indonesia, Westerling and about 800 troops attacked Bandung. He

was persuaded to withdraw by other Dutch officials, but secretly plotted to advance on Jakarta, where he hoped to assassinate top Indonesian government officials. The plan was discovered before it had been put into action, and Westerling was forced to escape in disguise to nearby Singapore. Later it was found out that Sultan Hamid II of Pontianak (in Kalimantan) had been involved with Westerling. The Sultan was imprisoned until 1958.

In October 1956 another plot directed at the government in Jakarta was discovered. Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, the Deputy Chief of Staff, planned to take advantage of Sukarno's absence from the capital (Sukarno was out of the country on a state visit to China and the USSR) to launch a coup. Before Lubis's supporters could enter the city they were blocked by troops under the command of Major-General Abdul Haris Nasution. An order went out for the arrest of Colonel Lubis, but he managed to escape, and later became involved in another attempt to overthrow the government.

A more persistent challenge to Indonesian authority arose in the north of Sumatra. Aceh was a region whose people had long been known for their independent spirit and their determined resistance against Dutch attempts at colonization. The Acehnese were also well known for their devout adherance to Islam. By 1953 the leader Daud Beureu'eh rebelled against the Jakarta government and announced that Aceh was joining the fundamentalist Darul Islam movement. For the next six years the Indonesian army had to contend with separatist Darul Islam forces in Aceh as well as in Sunda.

By 1956 Indonesia had managed to contain a number of instances of armed resistance. It had held its first national elections, but found little stability in the parliamentary cabinets that rose and fell in quick succession. Sukarno himself started to think of new ways to handle this problem, announcing that he had a new "*Konsepsi*" (conception) for government that would produce better results than the constantly changing parliamentary coalitions. Two months later military commanders in many parts of Sumatra expressed their dissatisfaction with the politics of Jakarta in a more straightforward way; they simply took over the civilian government in their districts. Army officers in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Maluku soon followed the lead and set up their own local administrations.

On March 2, 1957 Colonel Sumual in Makassar announced martial law for the whole of East Indonesia. His action was the begining of the Permesta Rebellion. Sukarno, aided by Chief of Staff Nasution, responded by proclaiming martial law for the entire country, with the hope that the army would be able to bring its own officers back in line.

By early 1958 no resolution had been reached. While Sukarno was out of the country a demand was made to replace the existing cabinet with one headed by Hatta and the Sultan of Yogyakarta. Hatta had resigned as vice-president in 1956, but was still held in high regard, especially in his native Sumatra. The Sultan of Yogyakarta was also very popular, and well known for having been an early proponent of the Republic and for having served as Minister of Defense. When the demand to put these two in charge of a new cabinet went unheeded, the protesters established their own "Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia" (known by its Indonesian initials as PRRI).

This alternate government was located in Padang (west Sumatra) and was headed by Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, who had acted as head of state briefly during the revolution (after Sukarno and Hatta had been captured by the Dutch). Other supporters of the "PRRI rebellion" included Colonel Lubis and two former prime ministers, Mohammad Natsir and Burhanuddin Harahap. Significantly, these leaders, who had all previously worked in service for the Republic, did not aim to secede from it but rather to restore to power people who they felt would be able to provide better leadership to the country. They also shared a widely felt concern within the army for the growing influence achieved by the communist party. But Sukarno would not tolerate direct threats of this sort to his authority. Nasution sent his troops to Sumatra to end the rebellion, and most of the resistance was eliminated within six months.

Throughout all these trials, Sukarno held firm and kept the country together. Indonesia had withstood many conflicts and disputes, and maintained a commitment to a democratic form of government. But in response to continued conflict and growing dissatisfaction with the way events were proceeding, Sukarno began to seek a new way to lead the country. He called his new plan "guided democracy."

Guided Democracy

As early as May 1957 Sukarno had started modifying the government structure by creating a National Council. This council included representatives of forty-one "functional groups" which were meant to reflect major sections of society, such as students, workers, religious groups, women, and farmers. By July 1959 Sukarno moved to cast out the then current constitution (dating from 1950) in favor of the original constitution of 1945 (despite the fact that a vote of this issue had just failed to obtain the required two thirds majority). Next the existing Constituent Assembly was abolished and a new cabinet was appointed, along with a Supreme Advisory Council. Sukarno himself became prime minister of a new "working cabinet" in addition to his role as president.

The exact nature of Sukarno's "guided democracy" is open to interpretation. Sukarno was clearly taking a more direct role in the shaping of the government. Soon he adopted the slogan USDEK to describe the new political philosophy. USDEK was an acronym representing the following:

U - 1945 Constitution (*Undang-Undang dasar 1945*)
S - Socialism (*Sosialisme ala Indonesia*)
D - Guided Democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*)
E - Guided Economy (*Ekonomi Terpimpin*)
K - Indonesian Identity (*Kepribadian Indonesia*)

In early 1960 Sukarno dissolved the parliament and appointed a "Mutual Cooperation People's Representative Council" and a "Provisional People's Consultative Assembly." By appointing the membership of both these groups, Sukarno was able to include politicians from parties that he favored, such as the PKI, and exclude representation to parties that he did not support, such as Masyumi and the PSI. Later in the year Masyumi and the PSI were officially banned. Both parties had opposed Sukarno and the idea of guided democracy, and had supported the PRRI rebellion in Sumatra.

In addition to the USDEK philiosophy, Sukarno now added the idea of "*Nasakom.*" Nasakom was another acronym, and derived from the words for nationalism, religion, and communism (*nasionalisme, agama, komunisme*). While it may seem difficult to reconcile religion and communism within a single philosophy, Sukarno repeatedly emphasized the need for all elements in his vision of Nasakom to work together. The idea of cooperation and compromise was reflected in his frequent references to *gotong-royong*, ("mutual assistance" [see chapter one]). Nasakom may also have reflected Sukarno's desire to "guide" the three major remaining political parties into agreement and cooperative effort. In fact it has been suggested that the three elements of *Nasakom* represented a symbolic integration of these three parties, with the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) statnding for "nationalism," the Nahdatul Ulama (the conservative Muslim party) standing for "religion," and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) standing for "communism." Sukarno hoped to keep these parties in line and to balance their influence, especially the growing popularity of the PKI, with the power of the army. From this point on Sukarno kept trying to juggle the forces of the political parties and the army and to maintain his own sometimes precarious position at the top.

Bemo:
This three-wheeled minibus, or bemo, is typical of the local transport still used in many Indonesian cities.

Living Dangerously

Despite the rhetoric of guided democracy, *USDEK*, and *Nasakom*, conditions in Indonesia were not improving. In August 1959 the Indonesian currency was devalued by 75 percent. Inflation shot up to extremely high levels, averaging 100 percent increases every year from 1961 to 1964. Sukarno tried to rally the people to face these challenges by urging the need to "continue the revolution." The Indonesian president seems to have felt that change, energy, redirection, and new challenges were constantly needed, both for himself and for the country.

Every year on the anniversary of Indonesian independence Sukarno would give a speech emphasizing a particular theme that he felt deserved attention. The titles of these speeches give some indication of the content and tone of his remarks. In 1960, just over ten years after the end of the revolution against the Dutch, his speech was "The March of our Revolution." The following year he spoke of "Revolution, Indonesian Socialism, and National Leadership." Two major issues of foreign policy provided the themes for the years 1962 and 1964. When the Dutch finally agreed to hand over control of west New Guinea to Indonesia the independence day speech was "A Year of Triumph." When Sukarno initiated the policy of confrontation against Malaysia, he spoke of "A Year of Living Dangerously."

Sukarno's balancing act was becomming increasingly dangerous. Both the army and the PKI were vying for power under Sukarno's framework of guided democracy. Both disliked the other, not only because they were rivals for Sukarno's approval, but also because of the memory of their confrontation during the revolution when the army had to put down the communist rebellion at Madiun.

Possibly as a diversion from these internal power struggles and the problems of a rapidly worsening economy, Sukarno initiated a series of foreign policy maneuvers including the resolution of the New Guinea question and the beginning of a confrontation with Malaysia.

From West New Guinea to Irian Jaya

One of the stumbling blocks to the final agreement between the Dutch and the Indonesians at the end of the revolution was the issue of what to do with western New Guinea. In order not to delay the transfer of sovereignty of all other parts of the Dutch East Indies to the Republic of Indonesia, both sides agreed to "maintain the status quo" in New Guinea and to hold more talks within the following year to resolve the issue. However, further talks yielded no positive results, and for several years the issue remained unresolved. Indonesia made several attempts to enlist the assistance of the United Nations, but failed to get the required two-thirds majority vote. In 1960 Indonesia broke off diplomatic relations with the Netherlands. Meanwhile the Dutch were trying to get support for creating an independent state out of the territory of west New Guinea, and by 1961 they began to increase their military presence there. Indonesia countered this move by sending in their own troops under the command of Major-General Suharto. Tension mounted as the Dutch sank an Indonesian naval vessel.

Seeing the real possibility of major armed confrontation, the international community finally responded by trying to find a dimplomatic solution. The United States of America sponsored talks between Indonesia and the Netherlands which ended with an agreement to transfer interim control of West New Guinea to the United Nations. Under local UN supervision the Dutch were to withdraw from the region by the end of 1962, after which the Indonesians would take over administration and agree to hold a referendum within six years to determine if the people of West New Guinea wished to remain part of Indonesia. Eventually the "act of free choice" was held and the area was formally integrated into Indonesia as the province of Irian Jaya.

Confrontation with Malaysia

In May 1961 the former British colony of Malaya began discussing the possibility of uniting with Sarawak and Sabah, two territories in north Borneo that had also been British possessions. The Indonesian province of Kalimantan lay directly beneath Sabah and

Sarawak, giving Indonesia an understandable concern for what might happen on the other side of the border. Since the Philippines claimed rights to part of Sabah, it was agreed that Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines would meet to negotiate an acceptable plan of action. Before these discussions were concluded, Britain and Malaya decided to proceed with the plan to incorporate the north Borneo territories along with peninsular Malaya into a new federated state of Malaysia.

Indonesian reaction included demonstrations and the burning of the British embassy in Jakarta. Trade relations between Indonesia and Britain were cut and Sukarno began to speak of a new policy of "Confrontation" in which Indonesia was ready to "crush Malaysia." Sukarno may have been genuinely worried that the new Malaysia might be a pro-British and thus pro-Western influence on Indonesia's borders, and Sukarno had made it very clear that he had little desire to maintain friendly relations with the former colonial powers. He viewed the Indonesian revolution as a symbol of the fight against colonialism and imperialism, and was convinced that the struggle against these forces must be maintained. He also may have been looking for a way to balance the power structure within Indonesia, for the confrontation policy against Malaysia gave the PKI a continued role as anti-imperialist, anti-bourgeois demonstrators while giving the army an active role by initiating an armed invasion. Sukarno presided over both forces and continued his image as revolutionary leader.

The Indonesian army made several incursions across the border of Kalimantan. The Indonesian troops were commanded by General Suharto (who had led the Irian Jaya campaign). The British sent in troops to assist the Malaysian forces. Skirmishes continued for some time, but Indonesia seemed reluctant to launch an all out attack to take over the area. Sukarno kept up his verbal attacks against Malaysia, and in 1965 he withdrew Indonesia from the United Nations in protest against the inclusion of Malaysia as one of the rotating members of the Security Council.

But conditions within Indonesia demanded more attention. The economy was in very poor condition, and the PKI was gathering increased support and trying to undermine the power of the army. Sukarno was soon to become embroiled in a web of intrigue and in a power struggle that would eventually lead to his downfall.

The 30th September Movement

By 1965 the Indonesian economy was suffering as the country moved into an increasingly isolationist position. Indonesia withdrew from the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. By the end of 1965 the black market rate of the Indonesian currency against the US dollar had fallen to almost one tenth of what it had been at the start of the year. In what some may have interpreted in a broad way as a symbol of the deteriorating conditions at home, Sukarno himself had collapsed while giving a speech. Chinese doctors were flown in to treat him, and some feared that complications from a kidney complaint might mean that he would not be able to hold on to power for much longer. Both the army and the PKI were eager to prevent the other from gaining too much power. Conditions were ready for a show-down between these two competing forces.

As early as 1962 the PKI had claimed its membership stood at two million people, which would have made it the largest communist party to exist outside the communist bloc. The PKI also organized youth groups and women's groups (estimated at one and a half million members each in 1963) and a peasant's front which allegedly included over five and a half million members. Even though the figures may have been inflated, and the "membership" commitment of some individuals questionable, it was clear that the PKI was gathering major support from the people. In 1965 the PKI suggested the formation of a people's militia, or "fifth force" that would operate in addition to the army, navy, air force, and police. Chinese leader Chou En-lai gave indications that China might be willing to supply the weapons for such a militia. In September 1965 Omar Dhani visited the PRC to discuss the issue (Dhani had already begun short military training courses for PKI sponsored groups at the Halim air force base in Jakarta). The PKI seemed to be a direct threat to the power and authority of the armed forces.

The armed forces announced that they would oppose the creation of a "fifth force," for they were not enthusiastic about the possibility of competing with a paramilitary group under PKI control. Yet despite official opposition to the PKI plan, the

armed forces included some individuals who were sympathetic to the PKI cause. By 1965 the PKI claimed to have contact with hundreds of supporters from within the army. Several top PKI leaders and sympathizers, including Colonel Untung and a number of break-away army units, claimed that the military was planning a coup against Sukarno. This was their justification for making a pre-emptive strike against the army, especially against what they called a "Council of Generals," who they allege were planning to oust Sukarno from power. Leaders of the plot against the "Council of Generals" called themselves a "Revolutionary Council," but would later become known as the *Gestapu*, a sinister sounding acronym derived from the Indonesian *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*, "30th September Movement."

Late at night on September 30, 1965, military forces of the Revolutionary Council raided the homes of seven of the so-called Council of Generals. Three of the senior army officers were killed immediately while three others were taken from their homes. General Nasution was the only one of the seven officers on the "hit-list" who managed to escape. He climbed over the back wall outside his home as his attackers entered the house, but in the confusion his daughter was shot and killed and one of his military aides taken away, possibly having been mistaken for Nasution himself.

The three senior officers who had been captured alive (and Nasution's aide) were taken to Halim Air Force Base, where they were killed by a PKI-backed women's group. Their bodies and those of the three who had already been shot were tossed down a well known as Crocodile Hole (*Lubang Buaya*). Early the next day Revolutionary Council army units marched into central Jakarta's Freedom Square (*Medan Merdeka*). A message was broadcast over the radio that Colonel Untung's forces were ensuring Sukarno's safety against the "Council of Generals."

Major General Suharto, whose name had not been on the hit-list, took control of the army's response. He carefully determined which military units were loyal to the army and which had switched sides to join the Revolutionary Council. By the end of the day he had persuaded one of the battalions in Freedom Square (positioned directly in front of his own headquarters) to step down while the other retreated to Halim. By early the next morning Suharto's troops had gained control of Halim air base, and the Revolutionary

Council had collapsed. The entire operation had involved fewer than twenty deaths, but in the months to follow untold thousands were to die as a violent backlash against the PKI swept through the land.

The PKI was blamed for the Revolutionary Council's "coup," and public reaction to the affair was inflamed by the discovery of the bodies of the murdered generals at Crocodile Hole. The PKI headquarters was burned and tens of thousands of PKI leaders and suspects were arrested. Tens of thousands more people with known or suspected links to the PKI were killed outright in a wave of violence that lasted from October 1965 to the early part of 1966. Estimates of the dead vary widely but usually fall within the range of 200,000 to 800,000 (some even claim higher figures). It was a dark chapter in the history of the Republic, and one which led to Sukarno's fall from power.

Sukarno never publicly supported the Revolutionary Council's actions, and his prior knowledge of the affair has been the subject of much speculation. On the morning of October 1, the day after the murder of the six generals, Sukarno went to Halim air base. Here he met with Omar Dhani, the air force vice-marshal who was actively involved in the *Gestapu* movement. Sukarno then left for the presidential palace at Bogor before Suharto's troops moved in on Halim base to crush the movement. Sukarno's previous support of the PKI caused many to be suspicious of his actions. Public opinion turned against him and the army was now powerful enough to take control of events.

By March 1966 Sukarno was pressured into signing an order giving Suharto the authority to restore order by whatever methods were deemed necessary. In 1967 Suharto was named Acting President. Sukarno still retained the official title of president but had little effective power. A year later the People's Consultative Assembly formally chose Suharto as president, and the slow transfer of power was complete.

Suharto and the New Order

One of the most important priorities of the new administration was to establish a stable economic and political foundation for the country. Years of mismanagement and revolutionary zeal under the Sukarno regime had produced severe economic problems and confrontational relationships with a number of foreign countries. Suharto's administration, calling itself the New Order to mark a clear break from the policies of Sukarno, began a number of initiatives to bring stability and order to the nation's economy and political life.

Development and the Economy

In 1965 inflation in Indonesia was running at 600 percent per year, and in 1966 the rate rose even further to 635 percent. The average family had difficulty putting food on the table when the price of rice doubled within the span of a single year, as it did each year from 1966 to 1968. The new administration recognized the need to control inflation, and began steps to strengthen the economy and to seek assistance from foreign aid donors.

In 1966 Indonesia rejoined the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. The following year saw the founding of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), which served to coordinate the aid of several donor countries to Indonesia. The IGGI members included Japan, the USA, Australia, and six Western European countries, with the Netherlands functioning as overall director. A new timetable was agreed upon which gave Indonesia thirty years to repay the accumulated debt from the Sukarno era.

The Indonesian government's "Planning Body for National Development" - Bappenas - initiated a series of five year development plans, referred to by the acronym "Repelita." Repelita I (1969-73) stressed reducing inflation, increasing rice production, and improving infrastructure, such as roads, power plants, and communication facilities. Major agricultural improvements came from the expansion of irrigation and the introduction of new high-yield varieties of rice. Many of these strains of rice were developed at the International Rice Research Institute (located at Los Baños in the

Philippines), and were promoted by the Indonesian government along with access to the fertilizer and insecticides that were needed to produce the increased crop yields.

Repelita II (1974-78) was designed to encourage development at the village level. Efforts were made to continue to encourage agricultural development and to improve education and health facilities. During this five year period the number of doctors in Indonesia rose by 68 per cent, though access to modern health care remained low compared to neighboring countries in Southeast Asia. The next five year plan also stressed improvement in basic living conditions, and tried to ensure an equitable distribuition of economic development.

During Repelita IV the emphasis switched to promoting light and heavy industry. As oil prices fell the government developed alternative exports so Indonesia could reduce its dependence on oil revenues. Attention was still given to basic needs, such as agriculture, and Indonesia finally became self sufficient in rice production. Repelita V, ending in 1994, continued to promote the development of the industrial sector. Transport and communication were important growth areas. The industrial sector grew at an annual rate of just over 10 per cent, while overall economic growth increased at an annual level of 6.8 per cent. While this impressive growth has made industry an increasingly important component of the nation's economy, in the early to mid 1990's slightly over half the work force remained in agricultural jobs.

The twenty-five year period covering the first five Repelita plans have produced many beneficial results. Per capita income rose over ten times during that period, and the percentage of people living below the povery line dropped dramatically from 60 per cent to less than 15 per cent. In 1974 Suharto ordered that a percentage of all oil revenue be used to finance basic school facilities, and since then well over 100,000 new school buildings have been constructed. The percentage of children aged seven to twelve who attend school increased from 57 per cent in 1973 to 97 per cent in 1984. Life expectancy has increased by over seven years as thousands of community health centers have been constructed to bring medical care to the village level. Indonesia has linked its vast archipelago via its own satellite communications system (in 1992 three *Palapa* satellites were in operation).

MAJOR INDONESIAN EXPORTS		
Mineral	**Agricultural**	**Manufactured**
Oil	Rubber	Textiles
Natural gas	Timber	Furniture
Copper	Coffee	Garments
Tin	Tea	Wood and paper products
Nickel	Palm oil	

While there have been many positive sides to Indonesia's development, there are some challenges which still remain. Many of the Repelita programs were largely financed by revenues from oil and natural gas exports. While Indonesia is still the world's largest exporter of natural gas, and its Natuna Sea field is thought to contain the largest concentration of natural gas reserves in the world, Indonesia's oil reserves need to be rationed as the country plans for its future and faces an increase in domestic demand. The percentage of total export revenues that come from oil and gas has become smaller, declining from 80 per cent of export earnings in 1981 to 43 per cent in 1990. The need to conserve natural resources, such as forest land, will also affect the amount of revenue that can be obtained through exports.

In addition to the need for prudent management of natural resources, some would suggest that the existing system of doing business in Indonesia could benefit from reform. Complaints about corruption have been common, and critics have claimed that favoritism and financial incentives have influenced the distribution of potentially profitable business opportunities, such as the right to exclusive import licenses. Suharto has launched several campaigns against corruption, but the low pay scale for government jobs still encourages civil servants to look for alternate means of making money.

One notable example of financial mismanagement may be seen in the huge debt that grew within the state-owned oil company, Pertamina, under the leadership of Ibnu Sutowo. Despite large increases in revenue as world oil prices climbed in the 1970's, Pertamina developed a reported debt of US $10 billion as Sutowo expanded the company

to include investments in fertilizer factories, rice plantations, and steel production. In 1976 Sutowo was forced to resign from Pertamina and the state took over management of the company and gradual repayment of the debts.

Another challenge for the economy is the continued growth in the nation's population. Indonesia's total population in the early 1990's exceeded 195,000,000. Hundreds of thousands of new jobs must be found every year just to absorb the increase in the number of people in the workforce. Many people are underemployed and the vast labor market helps to keep wage rates low. The government has attempted to slow the rate of population growth by actively promoting family planning. The rate of increase in the population has decreased from an annual rate of 2.2 during the late 1970's to 2.0 in 1990 and a reported 1.6 in 1994.

Indonesia has been quite successful in efforts to slow the rate of population growth, but the effects of overcrowding are still evident in Java and Madura, which account for only about 7 per cent of the total land area but approximately 60 per cent of the total population. This makes Java one of the most densely populated areas of the world. Population density in Java and Madura was 814 people/square kilometer in 1990, compared with only 77 people/square kilometer in Sumatra and 4 people/square kilometer in Irian Jaya. In order to reduce the overcrowding in Java, the government has adopted a "Transmigration Policy" which had helped hundreds of thousands of families move to the less densely populated outer islands. This "transmigration" program provides families with land and assistance in settling new areas, mostly in nearby Sumatra.

In the first twenty-five years of the New Order great improvements have been made in basic living conditions throughout the country. Economic growth and stability have replaced the rampant inflation and food shortages of the late Sukarno years. Major improvements have been made in the infastructure of the country, and great progress has been made in expanding the availability of health and educational facilities.

Foreign investment and aid donations have been continued, although Indonesia has made it clear that it will not accept aid with too many attached strings. In 1992 Indonesia refused all further aid assistance from the Netherlands, following Dutch attempts to link its aid to developments in human rights issues. This led to the disbanding of the Inter-

Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), which had been chaired by the Netherlands, and the establishment of a new organization called the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI). The CGI includes the former members of the IGGI (except for the Netherlands) and is chaired by the World Bank. In the 1994/95 fiscal year Japan was by far the largest aid donor to Indonesia, giving US $1.76 billion in assistance. Germany, the United Kingdom and France were the next largest donor countries, each giving over US $100 million, while America gave US $89.6 million.

Political Dimensions of the New Order

The Suharto government has stressed political stability just as much as it has stressed economic stability. In 1993 Suharto was elected to his sixth five-year term as president, with retired army general Try Sutrisno as his vice-president. The government maintains strong links to the military. As early as 1968, over two thirds of Indonesia's provinces were governed by military men. The armed forces have consistently taken an active role in the development of the country. This is consistent with the *Dwifungsi* (Dual Function) philosophy which maintains that the military should act both as a defense and security force and as a social and political force. One hundred of the five hundred seats in the People's House of Representatives are allotted to the military.

In addition to links with the military, the Suharto administration receives strong support from GOLKAR, the state's political party. GOLKAR (from *Golongan Karya*, "Functional Groups") was designed to be a collection of representatives from various segments of society rather than a true political party. It dates back to the Guided Democracy days when Sukarno tried to minimize the importance of the political parties and devise a new system of representation. After thirty years of New Order administration it has become strongly identified with the government and the country's sizable civil service can be counted upon to be largely pro-GOLKAR.

Structure of the Government

The Republic of Indonesia now operates under the original constitution drafted in 1945. This puts the highest authority into the hands of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). The MPR has one thousand members, half of whom are also members of the People's House of Representatives (DPR). The other half of the MPR consists of 253 members representing GOLKAR, the other political parties, and the armed forces; 147 regional delegates; and 100 presidential appointees to represent professional groups (including the military). The MPR meets every five years to elect a president and vice-president and to approve the Outlines of State Policy. In addition to the MPR, the government has five other major components: the DPR, the president, the Supreme Advisory Council, the State Audit Board and the Supreme Court.

The DPR shares authority with the president in fuilfilling the legislative functions of state. It has 400 members from GOLKAR and the political parties and 100 members representing the armed forces. It meets annually to debate and approve legislation.

The president is elected by and responsible to the MPR, and serves both as executive authority and as supreme commander of the armed forces. He appoints a cabinet of ministers to assist with affairs of state. He is also advised by a Supreme Advisory Council, a forty-five member group nominated by the DPR.

The State Audit Board is in charge of overseeing government finances. The Supreme Court represents the highest authority in the judicial system.

Domestic Issues

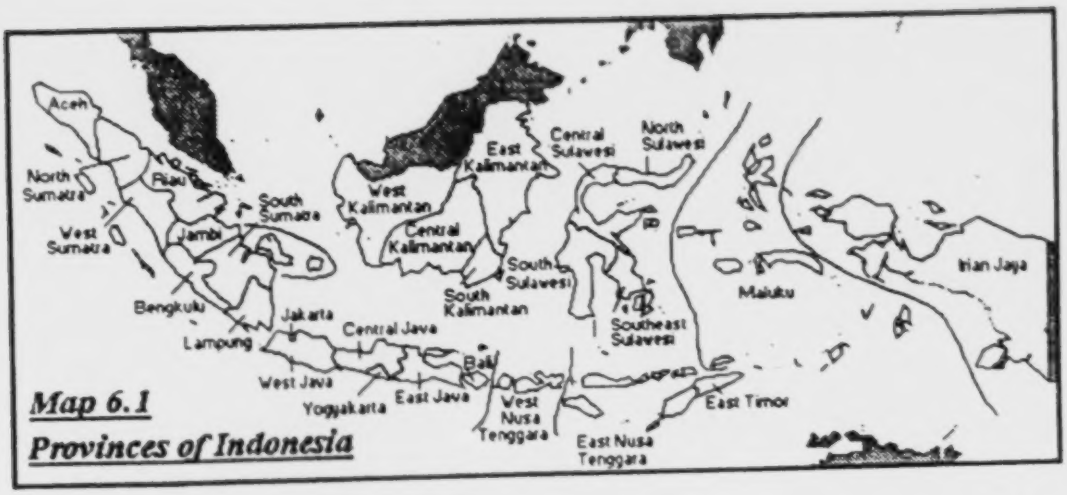
The political instability of the first two decades of Indonesia's independence has been blamed in part on the large number of political parties that existed, none of which commanded a convincing majority over the others (over forty parties took part in the 1955 elections). Suharto has moved to prevent this from becoming a problem by consolidating the remaining parties (aside from GOLKAR) into two groups. In the early 1970's the four

major Muslim-oriented parties were merged into the United Development Party (PPP) and the five non-Moslem parties were merged into the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). The PPP and the PDI both are represented in the People's Consultative Assembly and the People's House of Representatives, but the representatives of GOLKAR and the armed forces have assured that the government maintains a comfortable majority.

In the mid 1980's Suharto took another step in maintaining a pro-nationalist and pro-government atmosphere by requiring all political parties to adopt the state's Pancasila philosophy as their one and only political ideology. This move was not warmly received by all segments of society. In particular, some of the Muslim groups were disappointed that Islam (the religion of almost 90 per cent of all Indonesians) had no special place in Pancasila, and they objected to being prevented from having an official focus on Islam for their group. As a result, protests broke out in the Tanjung Priok area of Jakarta in September, 1984.

The political consolidation of the New Order was successful in promoting stability, but some critics felt that it went too far in restricting political expression. In May, 1980 a group composed of former military and political figures, university students and teachers, and other citizens called for greater political freedom. The group was known as the "Petition of Fifty."

Other challenges to the government have come from some of the outer regions of the country. Disturbances in Aceh have flared up from time to time. The area has been given the status of "special territory" rather than "province." In Irian Jaya, an independence group known as the Free Papua Movement (OPM) was established, and has occasionally led to confrontation with government forces. In East Timor a long-standing resistance movement known as Fretelin has waged guerrilla warfare against the Indonesian administration. The Fretelin resistance party emerged after Portugal gave up its colonial rule of East Timor in 1975. Fretelin wanted an independent East Timor, while other parties proposed integration with Indonesia. Indonesian troops were sent in to put down the Fretelin forces and in 1976 East Timor was formally declared the twenty-seventh province of Indonesia. Continued unrest in the region has been the subject of considerable international debate.



Map 6.1
Provinces of Indonesia

Foreign Policy Issues

Suharto came into power at a time when Indonesia had withdrawn from the United Nations and had veered toward a pro-Communist orientation emphasizing relations with the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam, and North Korea. Indonesia was waging border attacks on Malaysia's northern Borneo states, and Sukarno had told the United States to "go to hell with your aid."

Suharto moved quickly to disassociate Indonesia from its communist connections and to re-establish better relations with the west. The policy of confrontation with Malaysia was abandoned. Relations with China were essentially frozen for 23 years, and were only resumed on a more cordial basis in 1990.

Indonesia was an active organizer in the formation of ASEAN, the Association of South-East Asian Nations. This organization was founded on August 8, 1967 and was composed of Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Brunei and Vietnam later joined as official members. The group works to cooperate on economic and security issues, as well as to promote cultural interchange. ASEAN has also advocated the establishment of a Southeast Asian Nuclear Free Zone.

Relations with western countries were improved, leading to increased aid donations and the establishment of the IGGI. Japan became Indonesia's single largest

foreign investor and aid donor. Japan was also an important trading partner: by 1990, 75 per cent of Indonesia's natural gas exports was headed to Japanese ports.

While relations with the west improved, Indonesia was careful to maintain its position as a member of the Non-Alligned Movement (NAM). Indonesia served as chair of NAM in the early 1990's, and hosted the Tenth Non-Alligned Summit in September, 1992. Indonesia continued to demonstrate its ability to be an active leader in world affairs.

In 1994 Indonesia again drew international prestige as host to the Asia-Pacific Economic Leaders Meeting. At the meeting, leaders of the eighteen APEC countries agreed to liberalize trade agreements. Members pledged cooperation in working to achieve free and open trade by the year 2020. APEC was established in 1989 to promote regional economic cooperation with members from around the Pacific Rim, including the United States of America, Australia, and numerous Asian nations.

Indonesia has also been an active member of the United Nations ever since rejoining the organization in 1966. In the early to mid 1990's Indonesian forces have been sent as peace-keeping units to enforce the Cambodian cease-fire operation and as part of the UN Protection Forces in Bosnia Herzegovina. Indonesia has taken a special interest in trying to bring a peaceful settlement to the problems in Cambodia, and has hosted several international conferences on the subject. Indonesia's active participation in negotiating for a successful resolution to the Cambodian issue demonstrates its interest in cooperating as an important regional force interested in promoting peace and stability.

Summary

In 1995 Indonesia marked its fiftieth anniversary of independence. In the span of time since it fought a revolution to have its freedom recognized, Indonesia has achieved a great deal. It has survived a number of threats to it unity, and achieved a stability that has paved the way to economic growth and a better standard of living. From 1965 to 1989 Indonesia had the world's eighth fastest growing economy. It has expanded use of the

national language, and has dramatically increased the educational facilities available to its citizens. Health care has been improved and the nation has achieved self-sufficiency in rice, its basic foodstuff. Indonesia has participated as an important player in regional and world affairs. In a single generation Indonesia has witnessed the turmoil of colonial rule, revolution, and freedom. After fifty years of independence the Indonesian people have many reasons to be proud of their accomplishments.

Exercises:

I Multiple Choice:

1) The wartime organization *Peta* served as

a) a Japanese spy organization

b) a military force that later became the basis of the Indonesian army

c) an Indonesian news service

d) a pro-independence political party led by Mohammad Hatta

2) The conscript labor force known as *romusha* was

a) often sent overseas, and many of its members never returned after the war

b) always less than 10,000 strong

c) composed entirely of volunteers from Java

d) used by the Dutch to fight the Japanese

3) During the wartime occupation of Indonesia, the Japanese

a) continued to use Dutch as the official language of administration

b) used Malay as a language of administration while promoting Japanese in the school system

c) used only Japanese as a language of communication with the Indonesians

d) decided to adopt the local regional language in each area that they occupied

4) The Japanese occupation of Indonesia can be characterized as a time

a) in which the economy surged ahead as Indonesia joined the East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

b) when the two great leaders of Indonesia, Sukarno and Hatta, were forced into seclusion

c) of great hardship for most Indonesians, as inflation, forced labor, and shortages of food made life increasingly difficult

d) of order and stability during which little changed as the Japanese sought to isolate Indonesia from the rest of the world

5) After the official Japanese surrender to the Allies,

a) full strength Dutch forces re-appeared in Indonesia within a few days

b) British and American forces arrived in Jakarta the next day to prevent the Dutch from regaining control

c) the Japanese army in Indonesia continued to wage a guerrilla war for one more year

d) the newly formed Indonesian government had several weeks in which to organize itself before Allied forces appeared

6) The Madiun Affair of September, 1948 is best described as

a) a major Indonesian assault against the Dutch

b) a revolt by pro-PKI forces that challenged the authority of Sukarno

c) a spy scandal involving Musso, his mistress, and a Dutch double agent

d) the spark that led to the first Dutch police action

7) The general election of 1955

a) was given little attention and few people bothered to vote

b) was eagerly anticipated but did little to change the political situation

c) finally solved the problem of unstable cabinet coalitions

d) marked the end of Sukarno's term as Indonesia's first president

8) The PRRI rebellion

a) was sponsored by the Darul Islam

b) was a break-away movement that sought to secede from Indonesia

c) caused heavy fighting in Java

d) represented an attempt to change the government in Jakarta

9) The Dutch-held portion of New Guinea

a) had been given to the Indonesian government in 1949 but had remained effectively in Dutch control until 1960

b) was transferred to the newly independent Indonesia as part of the Renville Agreement

c) was only acquired by Indonesia only after extensive efforts including negotiations, military threats, and UN intervention

d) was virtually ignored as an issue by Sukarno and was only resolved once Suharto came into power

10) The 30 September Movement

a) claimed to be a group that supported Sukarno

c) received the open support of Sukarno and Hatta

c) gained control of most of Indonesia before finally being crushed

d) all of the above

II <u>Essay Topics:</u>

1) Compare and contrast the presidencies of Sukarno and Suharto.

2) Indonesia fought a revolution to gain its freedom, while its neighbors Malaysia and the Philippines did not. What difference might this have made for Indonesians in the

development of their national character, foreign policy orientation, and sense of history? (You may wish to think if the United States of America's own revolution influenced any of these factors for her own people, and examine if their are any parallels between the experiences of Indonesia and the USA.)

3) What were the forces that threatened the unity of Indonesia after the revolution? What do you think allowed Indonesia to overcome these obstacles?

III Creative Writing:

1) It is late at night in Jakarta on August 16, 1945. You and a number of other Indonesian nationalists are working with Sukarno to create the Indonesian declaration of independence. Write a draft version for submission to the committee that contains all of what you think should be included.

2) Imagine that you are Sukarno in the year 1968. As you look back over your long career, describe in your journal the events which you feel represent your most important accomplishments.

3) The year 1949 marked the end of the revolution and the beginning of a new and independent Indonesia. Think what it would have been like to be present at that crucial time in Indonesia's history and to have experienced the suffering of war and the excitement of freedom and independence. Write a poem that portrays the pain and sacrifices of war and revolution and the hope and high ideals of the new nation.

IV Fill in the Blanks:

1) Sukarno's five point philosophy based on belief in a Supreme Being; nationalism; humanitarianism; democracy; and social justice is called _____.

2) November 10 is now celebrated in Indonesia as _____, in commemoration of the struggle that began on that day in 1945 against British troops in Surabaya.

3) During the revolution, tension developed between those Indonesians who favored a negotiated settlement and those known as the _____ group, who favored armed resistence.

4) The accord between the Netherlands and Indonesia of January 1948 that allowed the Dutch to maintain control over large areas of Java was called the _____, and was named after the United States navy vessel on which the talks were held.

5) Musso was the leader of a PKI sponsored uprising in 1948 that came to be known as the _____.

6) In the peace agreement of 1949, all of the territory formerly held by the Dutch in the East Indies was immediately transferred to Indonesia except for _____.

7) After the revolution, former prime minister Sjahrir became the leader of _____ Party.

8) Indonesia's first vice president, _____, came from Sumatra and remained in office until he resigned in 1956.

9) The international gathering in Bandung that Indonesia hosted in 1955 was known as the _____, and was attended by leaders such as Nehru and Chou En-lai.

10) The Islamic resistance movement headed by S.M. Kartowuwirjo that began during the revolution and lasted for over a decade after independence was called the _____ _____, and was centered in the Sunda region of Java.

11) Sukarno's decision to abandon the 1950 constitution and return to the 1945 constitution, to abolish the existing Constituent Assembly, and to assume the post of prime minister as in addition to that of president was all part of the plan that he called _____.

12) Malaysia's decision to incorporate two of the former British areas of north Borneo led to the Indonesian policy of _____, under which Indonesian troops were sent across the border into Malaysia as part of Sukarno's "Crush Malaysia" campaign.

13) The PKI proposal to operate a people's militia, or _____, which would supplement the existing army, air force, navy and police, met with opposition from the armed forces.

14) _____ was the senior army officer who put down the Gestapu coup, or "30 September Movement."

15) In 1966 Indonesia rejoined the International Monetary Fund and the _____, the international body from which it had resigned during the tensions with Malaysia.

16) The state owned oil company, _____, developed enormous debts under the leadership of Ibnu Sutowo.

17) The administration of Suharto is commonly referred to as the _____, as a way to distinguish itself from the old government under Sukarno.

18) The Indonesian government has adopted a "_____ Policy" which sponsors Indonesian families to move from the crowded areas of Java to the less densely populated outer islands.

19) The pro-government political group known as _____, was originally designed not as a political party but as a collection of "functional groups."

20) Indonesia has been an active member of the _____ _____ (ASEAN) and the _____ (NAM).

V Topics for Debate:

Divide the class into two groups to debate the following topics.

1) Support or disagree with the following statement: "Sukarno was more interested in developing and displaying his own personal power than he was in developing the country and keeping it together."

2) In 1950 Indonesians decided to change the structure of their country from a collection of federated states to a unitary republic. During the 1990's many Americans have debated the advantages and disadvantages of giving more or less power to the indivdual states or to the Federal government.

   What are the advantages of having a federated system (such as that of the USA) and what are the advantages of having a unitary republic (such as that of Indonesia)? After exploring these issues the class may debate whether Indonesia should have retained a federated system and/or whether the USA should change to a unitary republic.

3) One of the goals of many regional groups such as ASEAN and APEC is the reduction of import tariffs and the promotion of free trade. What are the advantages and disadvantages of encouraging free trade within such regional groups?

   Will the USA benefit from participating in regional groups such as NAFTA and APEC?

   In the early 1990's Indonesia maintained high import tariffs on some goods, such as automoibles, which provided revenue to the government. Would there be any benefit to Indonesia if these tariffs were eliminated as part of a system to encourage free trade?

Key to Exercises

CHAPTER 1

I Multiple Choice:

1) B	6) C
2) C	7) B
3) C	8) A
4) D	9) B
5) D	10) A

II Fill in the blanks:

In western Indonesia the islands of Sumatra, Java, and Madura form part of the **SUNDA** shelf, while to the east the island of New Guinea forms part of the **SAHUL** shelf. Between these two areas lies the **WALLACE LINE** , which separates the habitats of the animals from the Asian mainland and the Australian continent.

Indonesia's many **VOLCANOES** provide both a danger to people and a beneficial source of nutrients to the soil. Fertile soil and irrigation are two key components of the **SAWAH** system of agriculture, which has been used for centuries to produce rice in terraced fields. The *ladang* form of agriculture, also known as **SWIDDEN**, or as **SLASH AND BURN**, (because it involve clearing new fields) has also been used in many parts of Indonesia.

Indonesia has two major seasons: the **DRY (OR HOT)** season and the **WET (RAINY OR COOL)** season. The rhythm of the seasons is important in the lives of those involved in agriculture, which in 1989 still employed more than **50%** of the Indonesian workforce.

VI Map Knowledge:

CHAPTER 2

I Multiple Choice:

1) A
2) C
3) D
4) A
5) D
6) D
7) C
8) C
9) A
10) B

II Fill in the blanks:

1) Most languages spoken in Indonesia belong to the **AUSTRONESIAN** language family.

2) The belief system that claims that all things possess a spirit or life-force is called **ANIMSIM**.

3) The legend of **KEN ANGROK**, who used a special kris to kill a rival and become king, provides some information about the rulers of Singhosari.

4) Linguistic evidence confirms that long ago Indonesian traders travelled to **MADAGASCAR**, an island off the coast of Africa.

5) Antonio Galvao, a Portuguese Governor of Maluku during the mid sixteenth century, recorded observations about local life and customs on the important eastern Indonesian island of **TERNATE**.

6) Early Chinese trade with Indonesia was often based on the system of **TRIBUTE**, in which gifts were given to the Chinese leaders in exchange for protection and Chinese trade goods.

7) Some inscriptions from the kingdom of Srivijaya were written in the Indian language called **SANSKRIT**.

8) Srivijaya's location next to the **STRAITS OF MELAKA**, an important trade route that allowed merchants to sail from China to India, was an important factor in the Sumatran kingdom's rise to power.

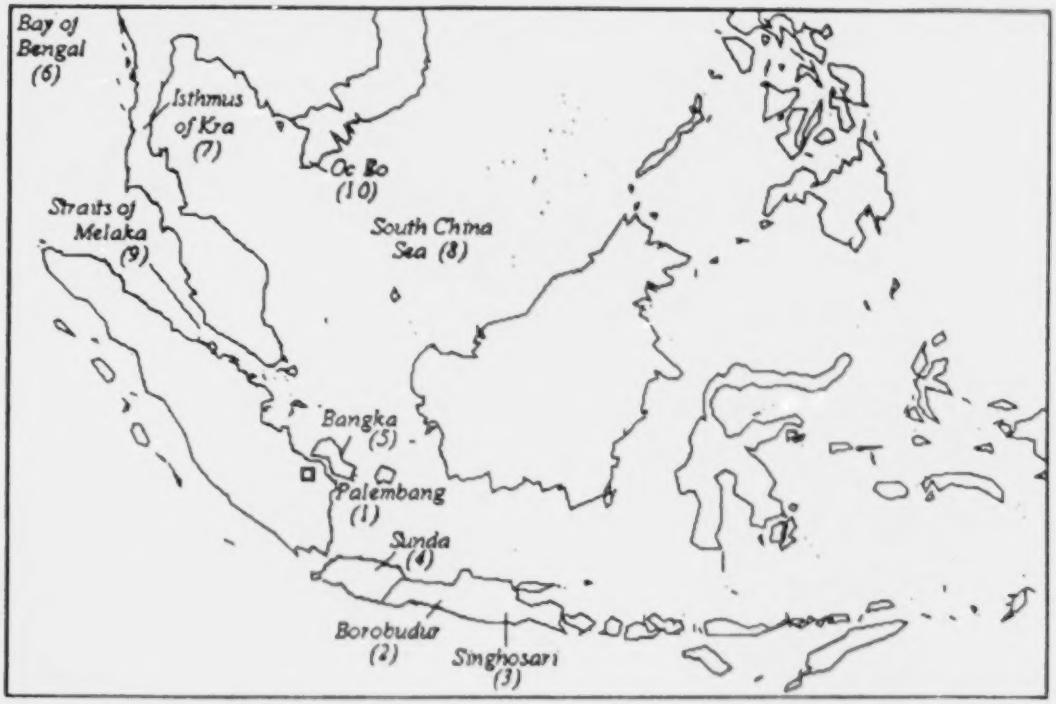
9) The rulers of central Java during the late 8th and early 9th century were known as the **SHAILENDRA**, whose name means "King of the Mountain."

10) The kingdom of **SINGHOSARI** was the most important kingdom of east Java between the fall of Kediri in the mid thirteenth century and the rise of the Majapahit dynasty near the start of the fourteenth century.

III Match the Columns:

1) D Wajak Man	A) An important Javanese chronicle from the mid fourteenth century describing court life in the Majapahit dynasty.
2) A Nagarakertagama	B) Known as "sea people," this group of sailors was crucial in allowing Srivijaya to gain control of the Straits of Melaka
3) J Wayang	C) Reigning over central Java for about 100 years, this dynasty is best known for its legacy of important Buddhist monuments
4) H Srivijaya	D) An early example of Homo sapiens that lived in Java 12,000 - 13,000 years ago
5) B Orang Laut	E) Prime Minister under Hayam Wuruk during the height of the Majapahit empire and known as an excellent administrator and leader of state, one of Indonesia's finest universities is named after him.
6) C Shailendra	F) The more important of the two kingdoms that arose when Airlangga divided his kingdom between his two sons. Later conquered by Ken Angrok.
7) I Mataram	G) The last king of Singhosari, he dared to defy Kublai Khan, which led to a Chinese military expedition to Java in 1293.
8) F Kediri	H) A mighty empire with its capital in Palembang that dominated Indonesia's international trade for centuries.
9) G Kertanagara	I) Originally founded by King Sanjaya, this dynasty sponsored the construction of the great Hindu temple of Prambanan.
10) E Gadjah Mada	J) The shadow puppet play, often using plots based on Indian religious traditions.

VII Map Knowledge:



CHAPTER 3

I Multiple Choice:

1) C	6) D
2) C	7) D
3) D	8) B
4) B	9) B
5) A	10) A

II Match the Columns:

1) G Borneo
2) H Sumatra
3) F Timor
4) A China
5) J Melaka
6) C Venice
7) E Java
8) I Maluku
9) D Arabia
10) B India

A) silk
B) textiles
C) glass
D) carpets
E) rice
F) sandalwood
G) honey, wax, rattan, and camphor
H) pepper
I) cloves and nutmeg
J) no major local products -- more important as a trade center

III Essays:

IV Chronology:

A) Demak leads the north Javanese coast ports in adopting Islam.
B) Francis Xavier arrives in Maluku.
C) Islam first observed in Indonesia by a Westerner.
D) The first Dutch expedition reaches Indonesia.
E) Melaka founded by Paremeswara.
F) Vasco da Gama sails to India.
G) The Portuguese arrive in Maluku.
H) Pajajaran, the last of the major Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of central and western Java, is conquered by Banten.
I) D'Albuquerque takes Melaka for the Portuguese.
J) The power of the kingdom of Demak fades while that of Japara grows, as symbolized by Queen Kalinyamat's first major assault on Melaka.

1) C (1292)
2) E (around 1400)
3) A (1477)
4) F (1498)
5) I (1511)
6) G (1512)
7) B (1546)
8) J (1551)
9) H (1579)
10) D (1596)

CHAPTER 4

I Multiple Choice:

1) C
2) B
3) B
4) C
5) C
6) D
7) C
8) A
9) A
10) D

IV Match the Columns:

1) J Arung Palakka

2) C Sultan Agung

3) A Jan Pieterszoon Coen

4) H Sultan Iskandar Muda

5) G Sultan Hasanuddin

6) I Kakiali

7) E Amangkurat I

8) F Trunojaya

9) D Surapati

10) B Prince Mangkubumi

A) Dutch Governor-General who founded Batavia and who drove the Bandanese from their islands

B) One of three contestants in the third Javanese wars of succession. He later took the name Hamengkubuwono I and ruled central Java from his court in Yogyakarta

C) The leader who united most of Java under his rule in the early 1600's

D) The man who rose from being a slave and then a soldier under the Dutch to become a rebel leader who assisted Amangkurat II and who later established his own territory in east Java

E) The ruler of Mataram who was the son of Sultan Agung. Later his own son plotted against him

F) The Madurese prince who first assisted and then fought against Amangkurat II

G) The sultan of Gowa who resisted Dutch attempts to restrict Makassar's spice trade

H) Ruler of Aceh who took control of many areas in northern Sumatra and on the Malay peninsula but failed in his many attempts to take Melaka

I) The Muslim leader from Hitu who led a resistance movement against Dutch presence in Maluku

J) The Buginese general who assisted the Dutch in their fight against Sultan Hasanuddin

V Map Knowledge

Identify the places described below and label them on the accompanying map. Write the number of the corresponding question in brackets following each place name.

1) **Banten,** The major kingdom of West Java that resisted Sultan Agung's attempts to rule all of Java.

2) **Batavia,** The VOC headquarters formerly known as Sunda Kelapa.

3) **Blambangan,** The East Javanese empire that maintained its independence despite Sultan Agung's attacks.

4) **Surabaya,** The major Javanese port that Sultan Agung only captured after a long siege by cutting off its water supply.

5) **Aceh,** The kingdom centered in the north of Sumatra that also controlled areas of the Malay peninsula.

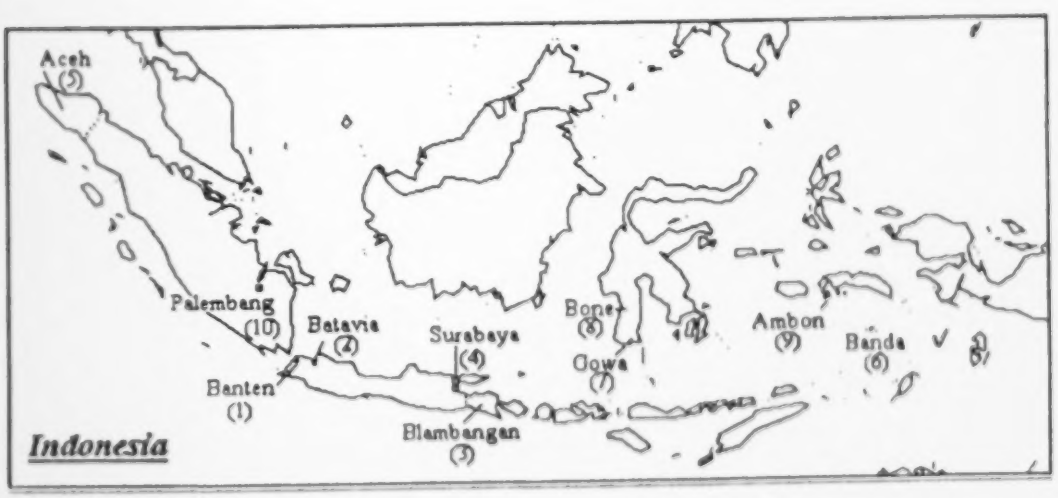
6) **Banda Islands,** The area whose entire population was killed or driven off by Dutch attacks led by Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Later known as a site of the dreaded Dutch "hongi" raids.

7) **Gowa,** The center of the Makassarese kingdom in southern Sulawesi.

8) **Bone,** The center of the Bugis kingdom (rivals to the Makassarese).

9) **Ambon,** The site of the 1623 "massacre" of English and other foreign merchants by the Dutch.

10) **Palembang,** The center of the pepper-producing area of southern Sumatra which was attacked by the Dutch in 1659.



CHAPTER 5

I Multiple Choice:

1) A
2) B
3) D
4) C
5) B
6) A
7) D
8) B
9) C
10) D

IV Match the Columns:

1) D Kartini
2) H Tjokroaminoto
3) I Diponegoro
4) F Edward Douwes Dekker
5) J Cut Nya Dien
6) C Tan Malaka
7) E Sutarjo
8) G Raffles
9) B Daendels
10) A Sukarno

A) early leader of the nationalist movement who founded the Bandung Study Club and became leader of the Indonesia National Party (PNI)

B) Governor-General of the Indies representing the French-backed government of the Netherlands

C) PKI leader who organized several strikes -- later arrested and deported by the Dutch

D) Javanese woman of noble birth who became famous as an advocate for women's education

E) known primarily for the petition submitted in his name to the Peoples' Council asking the Dutch to discuss the possibility of Indonesian self rule

F) published the influential book *Max Havelaar* using the pen name Multatuli

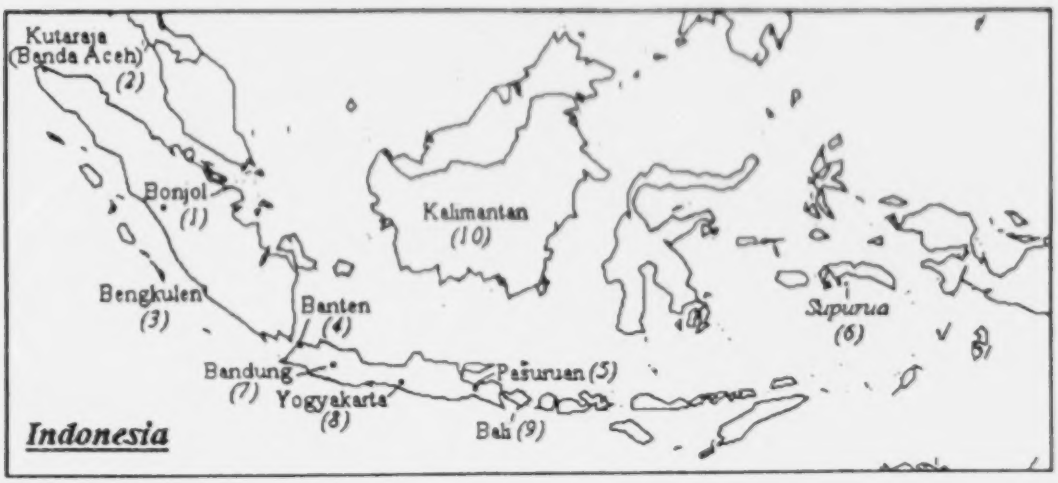
G) energetic reform-minded Lieutenant-Governor of Java during the British period

H) charismatic founder of the Sarekat Islam

I) leader of the revolt against the Dutch that came to be known as the Java War

J) continued her husband's work by leading a band of Acehnese resistance fighters

VI Map Knowledge:



1) The city that became the main site of resistance in the Padri War.

2) The capital of Aceh.

3) The site of the West Sumatran port that was held by the British until it was signed over to the Dutch by the 1824 Treaty of London.

4) The western end of the Java Road built by Daendels.

5) The eastern end of the Java Road.

6) Site of the Pattimura rebellion.

7) Home to the famous technical college known by the initials ITB. Sukarno's study club was also named after this city.

8) The Sultan of this city was exiled to Penang after being accused of plotting against the British: Raffles sent 2000 troops to take over the city.

9) The island on which the local rulers and their courts committed a ritual suicide march into rifle and artillery fire of the Dutch forces rather than surrender.

10) The island which was the site of the Banjermasin War.

CHAPTER 6

I Multiple Choice:

1)	B	6)	B
2)	A	7)	B
3)	B	8)	D
4)	C	9)	C
5)	D	10)	A

IV Fill in the Blanks:

1) Sukarno's five point philosophy based on belief in a Supreme Being; nationalism; humanitarianism; democracy; and social justice is called **PANCASILA**.

2) November 10 is now celebrated in Indonesia as **HEROS' DAY**, in commemoration of the struggle that began on that day in 1945 against British troops in Surabaya.

3) During the revolution, tension developed between those Indonesians who favored a negotiated settlement and those known as the **100% INDEPENDENCE** group, who favored armed resistance.

4) The accord between the Netherlands and Indonesia of January 1948 that allowed the Dutch to maintain control over large areas of Java was called the **RENVILLE AGREEMENT**, and was named after the United States navy vessel on which the talks were held.

5) Musso was the leader of a PKI sponsored uprising in 1948 that came to be known as the **MADIUN AFFAIR**.

6) In the peace agreement of 1949, all of the territory formerly held by the Dutch in the East Indies was immediately transferred to Indonesia except for **DUTCH (WEST) NEW GUINEA (LATER KNOWN AS IRIAN JAYA)**.

7) After the revolution, former prime minister Sjahrir became the leader of **INDONESIAN SOCIALIST (PSI)** Party.

8) Indonesia's first vice president, **MOHAMMAD HATTA**, came from Sumatra and remained in office until he resigned in 1956.

9) The international gathering in Bandung that Indonesia hosted in 1955 was known as the ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE, and was attended by leaders such as Nehru and Chou En-lai.

10) The Islamic resistance movement headed by S.M. Kartowuwirjo that began during the revolution and lasted for over a decade after independence was called the DARUL ISLAM, and was centered in the Sunda region of Java.

11) Sukarno's decision to abandon the 1950 constitution and return to the 1945 constitution, to abolish the existing Constituent Assembly, and to assume the post of prime minister as in addition to that of president was all part of the plan that he called GUIDED DEMOCRACY.

12) Malaysia's decision to incorporate two of the former British areas of north Borneo led to the Indonesian policy of CONFRONTATION, under which Indonesian troops were sent across the border into Malaysia as part of Sukarno's "Crush Malaysia" campaign.

13) The PKI proposal to operate a people's militia, or FIFTH FORCE, which would supplement the existing army, air force, navy and police, met with opposition from the armed forces.

14) SUHARTO was the senior army officer who put down the Gestapu coup, or "30 September Movement."

15) In 1966 Indonesia rejoined the International Monetary Fund and the UNITED NATIONS, the international body from which it had resigned during the tensions with Malaysia.

16) The state owned oil company, PERTAMINA, developed enormous debts under the leadership of Ibnu Sutowo.

17) The administration of Suharto is commonly referred to as the NEW ORDER, as a way to distinguish itself from the old government under Sukarno.

18) The Indonesian government has adopted a "TRANSMIGRATION POLICY" which sponsors Indonesian families to move from the crowded areas of Java to the less densely populated outer islands.

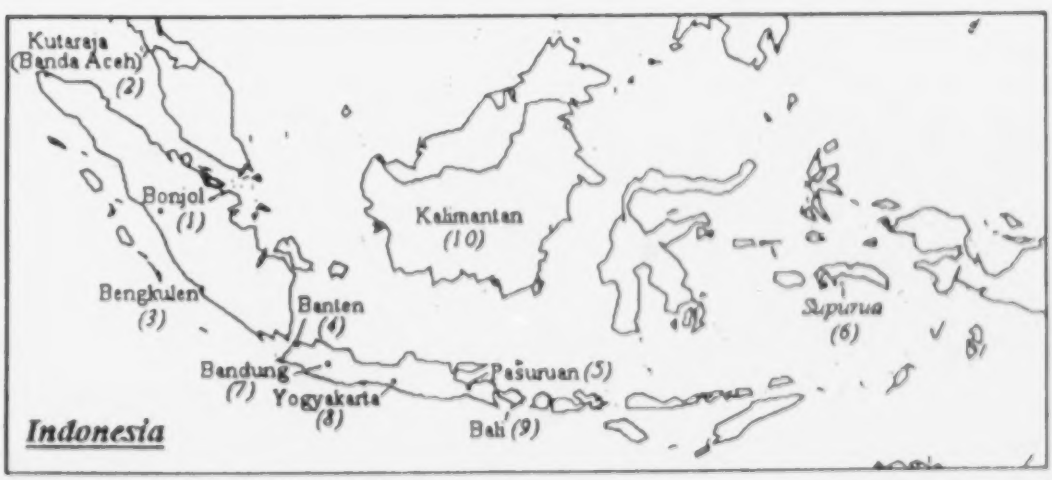
19) The pro-government political group known as GOLKAR, was originally designed not as a political party but as a collection of "functional groups."

20) Indonesia has been an active member of the ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN) and the NON-ALLIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM).

VI Map Knowledge:

Identify the places described below and label them on the accompanying map. Write the number of the corresponding question in brackets next to each place name on the map.

1) **Bonjol.** The city that became the main site of resistance in the Padri War.
2) **Kutaraja (also: Banda Aceh).** The capital of Aceh.
3) **Bengkulen.** The site of the West Sumatran port that was held by the British until it was signed over to the Dutch by the 1824 Treaty of London.
4) **Banten.** The western end of the Java Road built by Daendels.
5) **Pasuruan.** The eastern end of the Java Road.
6) **Sapurua Island.** Site of the Pattimura rebellion.
7) **Bandung.** Home to the famous technical college known by the initials ITB. Sukarno's study club was also named after this city.
8) **Yogyakarta.** The Sultan of this city was exiled to Penang after being accused of plotting against the British: Raffles sent 2000 troops to take over the city.
9) **Bali.** The island on which the local rulers and their courts committed a ritual suicide march into rifle and artillery fire of the Dutch forces rather than surrender.
10) **Borneo (also: Kalimantan).** The island which was the site of the Banjermasin War.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abeyasekere, Susan. Jakarta: A History. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Andaya, Barbara Watson. To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Honolulu: Univesity of Hawaii Press, 1993.

Andaya, Leonard Y. The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993.

Aveling, Harry, Ed. The Development of Indonesian Society: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Bangs, Richard. Islands of Fire, Islands of Spice: Exploring the Wild Places of Indonesia. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988.

Bastin, John and Harry J. Benda. A History of Modern Southeast Asia: Colonialism, Nationalism and Decolonization. 2nd ed. Sidney: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977.

Boon, James A. The Anthropological Romance of Bali: 1597-1972. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Benda, Harry J. and John A. Larkin, eds., The World of Southeast Asia: Selected Historical Readings. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Coedes, G. The Indianized States of Southeast Asia. Translated by S.B. Cowing. Edited by W.F. Vella. Honolulu: East West Press, 1968.

Cribb, R.B. Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia in the Indonesian Revolution 1945 - 1949. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991.

Dahm, Bernhard. History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century. Translated by P.S. Falla. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

Draine, Cathie and Barbara Hall. Culture Shock: Indonesia. Singapore: Times Books International, 1986.

Drake, Christine. National Integration in Indonesia: Patterns and Policies. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.

Eiseman, Fred B. Jr. Bali: Sekala and Niskala. Vol. 1, Essays on Religion, Ritual and Art. Berkeley: Periplus Editions, 1989.

_____. Bali: Sekala and Niskala. Vol. 2, Essays on Society, Tradition and Craft. Berkeley: Periplus Editions, 1990.

Fisher, Charles A., South-East Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1964.

Frederick, William H. and Robert L. Worden, eds. Indonesia: A Country Study. 5th ed., Area Handbook Series. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993.

Friend, Theodore. The Blue-Eyed Enemy: Japan Against the West in Java and Luzon, 1942-1945. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Furnival, J.S. Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Grant, Bruce. Indonesia. 2nd ed., Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1966.

Hall, D.G.E., A History of South-East Asia. 3rd ed., London: Macmillan, 1968.

Hall, Kenneth R. Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

Indonesian Folk Tales. Translated by Albert Koutsoukis. Adelaide: Rigby Ltd., 1970.

Jacobs, Hubert, Ed. & Trans. A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544): Antonio Galvao's Historia Das Moluccas. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970.

Jayapal, Maya. Old Jakarta. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Kahin, Audrey, Ed. Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

Kartini, R.A. Letters of a Javanese Princess. Translated by A.L. Symmers. Edited by H. Geertz. Lanham, MD.: University Press of America & The Asia Society, 1985.

Kartodirdjo, Sartono. Modern Indonesia: Tradition and Transformation. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Madah University Press, 1988.

Kathirithamby-Wells, J. and John Villiers. Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990.

Knappert, Jan. Myths and Legends of Indonesia. Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1977.

Legge, J.D. Sukarno: A Political Biography. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1972.

Lubis, Mochtar. Indonesia: Land under the Rainbow. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991.

McKay, Elaine, Ed. Studies in Indonesian History. Carlton, Victoria: Pitman, 1976.

Meilink-Roelofsz, Marie. Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630. 's-Gravenhage, Netherlands, Martinus Nijhoff, 1962.

Mirpuri, Gouri. Indonesia. Singapore, Times Books International, 1990.

Neill, Wilfred T. Twentieth Century Indonesia. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.

Palmier, Leslie. Indonesia. New York: Walker and Company, 1965.

Peacock, James L. Indonesia: An Anthropological Perspective. Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc., 1973.

Penders, Chr. L.M., Ed. & Trans. Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830 - 1942. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1977.

Ricklefs, M.C. A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan Press, 1993.

Sardesai, D.R. Southeast Asia: Past and Present. 2nd ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989.

Sievers, Allen M. The Mystical World of Indonesia: Culture and Economic Development in Conflict. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Smith, Datus C. The Land and People of Indonesia. Rev. ed., New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1983.

Soebadio, Haryati and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas, Eds. Dynamics of Indonesian History. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1978.

Spruyt, J. Indonesia: An Alternative History of the Timeless Isles. 3rd ed. Melbourne: Macmillan, 1979.

Steinberg, D.J., Ed. In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History. Rev. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

Sundstrom, Harold. Indonesia: Its People and Politics. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1957.

Tas, Sal. Indonesia: The Underdeveloped Freedom. Translated by Derek S. Jordan. Indianapolis: Pegasus, 1974.

Vlekke, Bernard H.M. Nusantara: A History of Indonesia. Rev. ed. Brussels: Les Editions A. Manteau S.A., 1961.

Zainu'ddin, Ailsa G. Thomson. A Short History of Indonesia. 2nd ed. Stanmore, News South Wales: Cassell Australia Ltd., 1980.